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VOL. II.

DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

VOL. II.





STATE PAPERS  
RELATING TO  
THE DEFEAT OF  
**The Spanish Armada**

ANNO 1588

EDITED BY  
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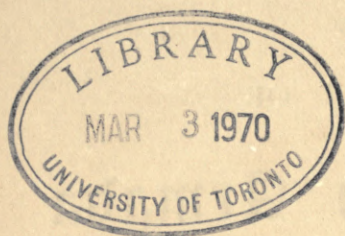
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# DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

ANNO 1588.

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*Aug. 1.—LORD H. SEYMOUR TO THE QUEEN.*

[ccxiv. 2.—Holograph. Addressed :—To the Queen's most excellent Majesty, my only Sovereign.]

MOST GRACIOUS LADY :—I received your most favourable letters the 27th of July at the Downs, at which very instant I had both message and letter from my Lord Admiral to repair unto him with all my forces, which I did incontinent, and met with his Lordship off Scales Cliffs, about eight in the evening, where both the armies anchored against the other, and we somewhat to the westward. The next day in the morning, and in council with his Lordship, it was resolved some exploit should be attempted the night following by fire, which was performed ; and what distress came thereof we certainly know not, saving that the said put them from their anchoring, by means whereof one of their galleasses came athwart one of their own ships' hawses, whereby she

broke her rudder, and [was] constrained, for want of steerage,<sup>1</sup> to go into Calais Road, where certain of your hoys and pinnaces under my charge<sup>2</sup> followed, and after long fight was by some of them boarded, slaying sundry Spaniards; the rest of them saved themselves by boat and swam into Calais, where they were received; the governor whereof shot at our men, enforcing them to forsake her, leaving 30 pieces of ordnance in her, as was supposed.

The 29th of the said month, being resolved the day before my Lord Admiral should give the first charge, Sir Francis Drake the next, and myself the third, it fell out that the galleass distressed altered my Lord's former determination, as I suppose, by prosecuting the destruction of her, which was done within one hour<sup>3</sup> after. In the meantime Sir Francis Drake gave the first charge upon the Spanish Admiral, being accompanied with the Triumph, the Victory, and others. Myself, with the Vanguard, the Antelope, and others, charged upon the tail, being somewhat broken, and distressed 3 off of their great ships; among which, my ship shot one of them through six times, being within less than musket shot.

After this long fight, which continued almost six hours, and ended between 4 and 5 in the afternoon, until Tuesday at 7 in the evening, we continued by them, and your Majesty's fleet followed the Spaniards along the channel, until we came athwart the Brill, where I was commanded by my Lord Admiral, with your Majesty's fleet under my charge, to return back for the defence of your Majesty's coasts, if anything be attempted by the Duke of Parma; and therein have obeyed his Lordship much against my will, expecting your Majesty's further pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> MS. stirrege.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. of my squadron.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ower.



This, hoping God will confound all your enemies, and that shortly, do most humbly leave to trouble your most excellent Majesty. From aboard the Rainbow, this first of August, 1588.

Your Majesty's most bounden  
and faithful fisherman,<sup>1</sup>

H. SEYMOUR.

Your Majesty's faithful servants, Sir William Wynter and Sir Henry Palmer, have faithfully performed their duties, and the more in respect of your Majesty's honourable remembering them.

*August 1.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 3.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—I have written to her Majesty at large of our proceedings upon my Lords' honourable letters directed unto me for the reinforcing my Lord Admiral's strength; so was I likewise desired and written by my Lord Admiral himself to hasten my forces to join the same to his, which I did perform. And where his Lordship was altogether desirous at the first to have me strengthen him, so having done the uttermost of my good will (to the venture of my life) in prosecuting the distressing of the Spaniards, which was thoroughly followed the 29th of July, I find my Lord jealous and loth to have me take part of the honour of the rest that is to win, using his

<sup>1</sup> It is very doubtful what this 'fisherman' means. Possibly that, after taking his part in the glorious battle, he had been sent back to command coasting craft and fishermen (cf. *ante*, vol. i. p. 363), and was, in fact, being treated as if he was one. The next letter, to Walsyngham, shows that he was very much annoyed at having been ordered back.

authority to command me to look to our English coasts, that have been long threatened by the Duke of Parma.

So referring the rest unto her Majesty's letters as<sup>1</sup> to these messengers, the one Mr. Brown<sup>2</sup> and the other my lieutenant,<sup>3</sup> who both are witnesses of our actions, do take my leave. From aboard the Rainbow, this 1st of August, 1588, at anchor at Harwich, at 3 in the afternoon.

Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

In the passage homewards from my Lord Admiral, I received letters from Sir William Russell that Justinus de Nassau cometh forth himself with 30 sail, and will be ready to perform anything what her Majesty shall command, as you may perceive by the effect of Sir William Russell's letters which I send you.

I understand the French do arm to join with the League, or at the least with Parma, and that all passages are stopped for intelligence.

I pray God my Lord Admiral do not find the lack of the Rainbow and that company; for I protest before God, and have witness for the same, I vowed I would be as near or nearer with my little ship to encounter our enemies, as any of the greatest ships in both armies; which I have performed to the distress of one of their greatest ships sunk, if I have my due.

We are in manner famished for lack of victuals, although the same hath been drawn at length,<sup>4</sup> yet by increase of soldiers the same is all wasted.

<sup>1</sup> As = as well as.

<sup>2</sup> Brute Brown, serving as a volunteer on board the Rainbow. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> MS. lyftenant.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn out as long as possible.



I presume the Spaniards are much distressed for victuals, which I hope will be the cause to make them yield to her Majesty's mercy.

I do send my lieutenant the rather to give you perfect notice of our lacks, as also I pray you to use Mr. Brown with some favour, who of good will came to see the service two days before I joined with the Lord Admiral.

*August 1.—SHIPS WITH SEYMOUR.*

[ccxiv. 6.]

Ships on the seas with the Lord Henry Seymour the 1st of August :—

The Queen's Ships.

The Vanguard.	. 250	Sir Wm. Wynter.
Rainbow .	. 250	Lord H. Seymour.
Antelope .	. 250	Sir Henry Palmer.
Bull .	. 100	Turner.
Tiger .	. 100	
Tramontana .	. 70	Luke Ward.
Scout .	. 70	Cap. Ashley.
Achates .	. 60	Cap. Rigges.
Merlin .	. 35	Gower.
Sun .	. 30	White.
Cygnet .	. 20	a Mr. Ward.
George .	. 20	Hodges.
Galley .	.	Mr. Borough.

13 ; whereof { Good ships, 5.  
Mean, 3.  
Pinnaces, 4.

1,255 men, besides the galley.

## Coast Ships.

Ipswich and Harwich . . .	3 hoys.
Five Ports . . . . .	5 ships, 1 pinnacle.
Colchester . . . . .	1
Aldborough . . . . .	1
Yarmouth . . . . .	1 ship, 1 pinnacle.
Lyme . . . . .	1 ship, 1 pinnacle.
Hull . . . . .	2 ships, 1 pinnacle.

Ships, 14.

Pinnaces, 4.

8 ships of London come with Nicholas Gorges to the Lord Henry Seymour the last of July.

In all, Ships . . .	30
Pinnaces . . .	8

*Aug. 1.—RESOLUTION AT A COUNCIL OF WAR.*

[B.M. Addl. MS. 33740, f. 6.—Signed.]

1st of August, 1588.

We whose names are hereunder written have determined and agreed in council to follow and pursue the Spanish fleet until we have cleared our own coast and brought the Frith west of us ; and then to return back again, as well to revictual our ships, which stand in extreme scarcity, as also to guard and defend our own coast at home ; with further protestation that, if our wants of victuals and munition were supplied, we would pursue them to the furthest that they durst have gone.

C. HOWARD.	GEORGE COUMBRELAND.
T. HOWARD.	EDMONDE SHEFFEYLDE.
FRA. DRAKE.	EDW. HOBY.
JOHN HAWKYNS.	
THOMAS FENNER.	

2nd of August.

Determined by the council to return from thwart of the Frith.

*August 1.—WYNTER TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 7.—Signed. Addressed.]

May it please your Honour:—Upon Saturday, the 27th of July, our Admiral, the Lord Henry Seymour, being with his fleet in the morning as high up as between Dungeness and Folkestone, attending the coming of the armies, we there spake with divers ships that came from the west, who said they saw none of the armies; which put us in hope, our victualling being within three days of expiring, that we might bear into the Downs to see if the victuals were come, and to take in the same, and so to be in a readiness to do service. But we had not been scarcely there half an hour, the wind being SSW., but we received a letter from the Lord Admiral by a pinnace, declaring unto us what we should do; and forthwith we made sail and gat out, not having any time to relieve ourselves with victual, and bare over with the French coast, whither we did see the fleet to draw; and by that time we could recover over, which was about seven of the clock in the afternoon, the Spanish army was anchored to the eastward of Scales Cliffs, very round and near together, not far from the shore.

Our army not being past a mile and a half behind them, whom I had recovered with my ship, did also cast anchor thwart of Scales Cliffs; and immediately, so soon as my Lord Admiral's ship was come to an anchor, his Lordship sent his pinnace aboard my ship for me, and a messenger in



the same commanding me to come aboard his Lordship, which I did ; and having viewed myself the great and hugeness of the Spanish army, and did consider that it was not possible to remove them but by a device of firing of ships, which would make them to leese<sup>1</sup> the only road which was apt and meetest to serve their purpose, as also an occasion to put many of them in danger of firing, and at the least to make them to leese<sup>2</sup> their cables and anchors, which could not be less than two for every ship, I thought it meet to acquaint my Lord withal at my coming to him at that time, which was about 9 of the clock at night ; and his Lordship did like very well of it,<sup>3</sup> and said the next day his Lordship would call a council and put the same in practice ; and his Lordship and I were reasoning of this matter in his Lordship's cabin, there did drive with the tide aboard my Lord's ship her Majesty's ship the Bear and three others, who were all tangled together, so as there was some hurt done by breaking of yards and spoil of tackle ; but a great favour of God showed<sup>4</sup> that it had not made a destruction of many [of] our ships.

Upon Sunday, being the 28th day, my Lord put out his flag of council early in the morning, the armies both riding still ; and after the assembly of the council it was concluded that the practice for the firing of ships should be put in execution the night following, and Sir Henry Palmer was assigned to bear over presently in a pinnace for Dover, to bring away such vessels as were fit to be fired, and materials apt to take fire. But because it

<sup>1</sup> Leese=lose.

<sup>2</sup> MS. lease.

<sup>3</sup> Wynter had only just joined the fleet, and it was his first sight of the Spaniards. To the others his device would seem to have occurred long before, and the combustibles had been sent to Dover. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> Sc. showed itself in this, &c.

was seen, after his going, he could not return that night, and occasion would not be over slipped, it was thought meet that we should help ourselves with such shipping as we had there to serve that turn. So that about 12 of the clock that night six <sup>1</sup> ships were brought and prepared <sup>2</sup> with a saker shot, and going in a front, having the wind and tide with them, and their ordnance being charged, were fired; and the men that were the executers, so soon as the fire was made they did abandon the ships, and entered into five boats that were appointed for the saving of them. This matter did put such terror among the Spanish army that they were fain to let slip their cables and anchors; and did work, as it did appear, great mischief among them by reason of the suddenness of it. We might perceive that there were two great fires more than ours, and far greater and huger than any of our vessels that we fired could make.<sup>3</sup>

The 29th day, in the break of the day, my Lord Admiral did bear with them with all his fleet; and his Lordship perceived a galleass to go amongst the French shore, as near as she might possibly, striving to recover Calais, which could not use no more but her foresail and oars. The which vessel my Lord did cause to be followed with small vessels and boats, which did force her to run aground upon the bar of Calais haven, the tide being half spent. Great fight was made there between our men and them; and one William Coxe, master of a bark of mine called the *Delight*, did first board her; who sithen that time is slain. And so others, in boats and small pinnaces, did very valiantly behave them-

<sup>1</sup> There were eight.

<sup>2</sup> Signalled; prepared to move when the gun was fired.

<sup>3</sup> None of the Spanish ships were burnt, and he wrote in the belief that there were only six fire-ships.

selves ; which was better done by reason that my Lord Admiral did stay off and on, with some good ships with him, to give comfort and countenance to our men.

But after his Lordship perceived that our men had quietly possessed her, as we might judge of it, then his Lordship, with such as were with him, did bear room after the Spanish fleet, the wind being at the SSW., and the Spanish fleet bearing away NNE., making into the depth of the channel ; and about 9 of the clock in the morning we feat<sup>1</sup> near unto them, being then thwart of Gravelines. They went into a proportion of a half moon. Their admiral and vice-admiral, they went in the midst, and the greatest number of them ; and there went on each side, in the wings, their galleasses, armados of Portugal, and other good ships, in the whole to the number of sixteen in a wing, which did seem to be of their principal shipping. My fortune was to make choice to charge their starboard wing without shooting of any ordnance until we came within six score<sup>2</sup> of them, and some of our ships did follow me. The said wing found themselves, as it did appear, to be so charged, as by making of haste to run into the body of their fleet, four of them did entangle themselves one aboard the other. One of them recovered himself, and so shrouded<sup>3</sup> himself among the fleet ; the rest, how they were beaten, I will leave it to the report of some of the Spaniards that leapt into the seas and [were] taken up, and are now in the custody of some of our fleet.

The fight continued from 9 of the clock until six of the clock at night, in the which time the Spanish army bare away NNE. and N. by E., as much as

<sup>1</sup> Feat=fetched : the past tense of fett=fetch.

<sup>2</sup> Gunners seem to have counted then by paces. Cf. *post*, App. C.

<sup>3</sup> Concealed, sheltered.



they could keeping company one with another, I assure your Honour in very good order. Great was the spoil and harm that was done unto them, no doubt. I deliver it unto your Honour upon the credit of a poor gentleman, that out of my ship there was shot 500 shot of demi-cannon, culverin, and demi-culverin ; and when I was furthest off in discharging any of the pieces, I was not out of the shot of their harquebus, and most times within speech one of another. And surely every man did well ; and, as I have said, no doubt the slaughter and hurt they received was great, as time will discover it ; and when every man was weary with labour, and our cartridges spent, and munitions wasted<sup>1</sup>—I think in some altogether—we ceased and followed the enemy, he bearing hence still in the course as I have said before.

The 30th day the wind continued at WNW., very much wind ; and about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, my Lord Admiral shot off a warning piece, and put out a flag of council ; to the which myself, I was not able to go by reason of a hurt that I had received in my hip, by the reversing of one of our demi-cannons in the fight. But after the council was ended, my Lord Admiral sent aboard me a gentleman of his, both to see how I did, as also to tell me that my Lord Seymour had order to repair back again, to guard the Thames mouth from any attempt that might be made by the Duke of Parma ; and that I was to attend upon him, and<sup>2</sup> all the rest that were of his former charge ; and that we should bear away in the twilight, as<sup>3</sup> the enemy might not see our departing. And so, obeying the commandment which was brought unto me by Sir Henry Palmer, Sir John Hawkyns, Mr. Fenton,

<sup>1</sup> Expended.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. and so were all the rest.

<sup>3</sup> As = so that.

Mr. Beeston, and Mr. Baker, and likewise advertised to me from my Lord Henry Seymour, and by my nephew John Wynter, whom I did send aboard (being my lieutenant) to the council, to know what order should be taken, all agreeing with the message delivered unto me by my Lord Admiral's servant, I did about 8 of the clock in the night, a-being then little wind and veered to the NE., bear back again through our fleet ; and truly we had much ado with the staying of many ships that would have returned with us besides our own company.

The 31st day—we had the wind at SSW.—we recovered as high as Badsey Cliff ; there we were forced to anchor in the sea (with very much wind), upon the ebb, about three of the clock in the afternoon, and so continued all that day, and the night following.

The 1st of August, as we were weighing of our anchors and to turn to windward in hope to win the North Foreland, the Lord Henry Seymour, our Admiral, sent the pinnace called the Delight, to show us that we should bear room for Harwich to take in our victuals ; and about one of the clock we came and anchored in Harwich. So that here I have declared unto you as much as I do know of that which hath happened from my coming lastly into my Lord Admiral's company, until this present time.

And now I will deliver unto you what I do think where the armies may be, and what my opinion is, and of the course that they, the Spaniards, mean to take.

First, when that I departed from my Lord Admiral as aforesaid, which was in the bottom of the channel, half way between the coast of Holland and the coast of England, I left them thwart of Lowestoft<sup>1</sup> ; and

<sup>1</sup> MS. Leistof.

for anything that I could perceive, and by the course that the Spanish army did hold, considering what a fresh wind it hath blown sithence that time, they cannot be less way now to the northward than at Flamborough Head upon our coast. If my Lord Admiral follow them, as he had in purpose, they dare not anchor, for fear of such a stratagem as lately hath been used ; to the which, if it should happen, it would put them by their ground tackle, and so should they be utterly undone. And to bear with Hamburg, I think it a very dangerous place for such huge ships and such a number ; and then, I do not know, except they go with the Naze of Norway or the Frith in Scotland, where they should take any succour, except it should be that they do bear about the north part of Scotland, and so go about to recover back into their own country again that way ; or else, they must be forced to abide their fortune, and to tarry<sup>1</sup> a wind to bring them back this way again ; which, by their flying, it seemeth they are not willing to do ; and in my conscience, I speak it to your Honour, I think the Duke would give his dukedom to be in Spain again. But the worst is to be reckoned of.

It were very necessary that victuals were provided ; [and that] munitions—powder, shot, match, lead, and canvas to make cartridges—which is greatly wasted, were likewise made ready to be sent to furnish the wants [of the ships], and especially of such as be good ; for I dare assure your Honour, if you had seen that which I have seen, of the simple service that hath been done by the merchant and coast ships, you would have said that we had been little holpen by them, otherwise than that they did make a show. May it please your Honour, in this

<sup>1</sup> Wait for. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. i. 15 : 'He that will have a cake out of the wheat must needs tarry the grinding.'



case there would<sup>1</sup> be no sticking for charge ; for if they [be] well handled at this time, I trust your Honour and I shall never be troubled whilst we live with them ; nor the Queen's Majesty during all the years of her life, which, I trust in God, shall be many and happy.

Thus most humbly taking my leave, I desire God long to preserve you with health and good life. Written aboard the Vanguard in Harwich Road, this 1st of August, 1588, at 7 of the clock at night.

Your Honour's most assured to his power,  
W. WYNTER.

*August 1.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 4.—Holograph. Addressed :—For her Majesty's affairs.]

Sir :—Upon our present arrival at Harwich, the first of August, and since the time I despatched my former letters, there came Mr. Nicholas Gorges with seven merchant ships of London, nothing well manned, but better appointed of munition and powder, and victualled for one month, whereof one week is past.

They would gladly be resolved at my hands what I shall direct them for service, either for my Lord Admiral or the Narrow Seas ; which, when I shall know your further pleasures, they shall be thereafter directed.

So having nothing else to trouble you, do take my leave. From aboard the Rainbow, this first of August, 1588.

Your assured friend to command,  
H. SEYMOUR.

<sup>1</sup> Should.

I met with Mr. Gorges upon the seas, unknowing<sup>1</sup> of his being there till I came to Harwich. Sir, the gentleman is frequented with his old infirmity of bleeding, and therefore [I] could wish another in his place ; albeit I hardly believe you can match him about London.

*August 2.—THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION  
OF WEYMOUTH TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxiv. 11.—Signed. Addressed. Endorsed.]

Right Honourable Lords, our duties premised :—Whereas long sithence we have made humble suit unto your Lordships that this town might be provided of ordnance to remain here to her Majesty's use, for some defence of town and country ; and, for the better use thereof, [we] have with great charge builded a platform ; which places, notwithstanding this dangerous time, and peril of this coast, are hitherto unprovided. And for that the 22nd of July last, upon the first sight of the enemy in these parts, [we] have sent forth four ships and pinnaces in warlike sort, to join with our very good Lord, the Lord Admiral, manned with 300 men at the least, leaving our town destitute :—May it please your Lordships to be advertised that a great ship or carrack, taken from that enemy, arrived the 23rd of the said July into the road of Portland ; in which was ordnance, powder, shot, and other commodities, in some part unladen, as in an inventory herein enclosed may certify your Lordships, and to what uses the same hath hitherto been employed : And, for that certain ordnance therein are now landed, yet remaining in this place, and in our understanding, some part

<sup>1</sup> MS. unknown.

thereof fit to remain here for her Majesty's behoof<sup>1</sup> and safeguard of the coast :

Our most humble request unto your Lordships is that, in respect of the necessity of our former suit therefor, and the present want of ordnance, as well in this as in other times that may happen of danger, some part of the same ordnance may, by your Lordships' warrant, be continued in this place ; the choice whereof in number or otherwise we commit to your honourable consideration.

And forasmuch as divers commodities, as we suppose,<sup>2</sup> in that carrack may perish, without great care had, and some part vendible in this place, if it might further please your Lordships that we may buy any such, or refuse, before other, at reasonable prices, to be rated by such as shall be therefor authorised, we shall acknowledge all duty unto our good Lords, and beseech God to increase victory over her Majesty's enemies. And do take our leave. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, the second of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' ready at all commands,

RICHARD PITT, Mayor.

WM. DOTHERELL.<sup>3</sup>

HUGH RENDOLL.

JOHN BROOKE.

JOHN MOKET,<sup>5</sup> Bailiff.

JOHN BELLPYTT.

WILLIAM PIT.

BARTHOLOMEW ALLEN.<sup>4</sup>

JOHN WADE.

<sup>1</sup> MS. behofe.

<sup>2</sup> Suppose = are informed.

<sup>3</sup> In 1599 signed Dottrell.

<sup>4</sup> In 1599 signed Allein.

<sup>5</sup> Mayor in 1599 (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* cclxxii. 19 and 33, I.)



## ARTICLES FOR EXAMINATION OF PRISONERS.

[ccxiv. 16.—Endorsed :—Articles appointed by the Lords of the Council for the Spanish prisoners to be examined upon.]

1. When the fleet came from Lisbon ?
2. Whether, at their coming to the seas, there was any proclamation or denunciation publicly made of hostilities with England. What was the contents of the same ; and, if it were done by writing, where is the same ?
3. Whether the intention of the fleet was to invade and conquer England or no ; and who should have had the principal charge of that enterprise ?
4. Where they should have landed ; and whether their meaning were to take the City of London ; and what they meant to have done if they had taken it ?
5. What they meant to do with the noblemen, gentlemen, and other subjects of quality, as well of our religion as of the other ?
6. What the Englishmen should have done that came with them ; and whether they had not especial direction whom they should spare and whom they should kill ; or where were they to receive it ; and what it was ?
7. What they have heard or know of any help or succour that they should receive upon their landing in England ?
8. What forces did they look for out of France to join with them ?
9. Whether the King of Spain would have retained this realm for himself, or given it to any other ; and who that is ?

10. What principal noblemen of the Spanish or Italian nation be in this fleet?

11. What Englishmen they know to be in this fleet?

12. What treasure was taken in the ship wherein they were taken?

13. What ordnance, armour, munition, and other furniture; victuals, armour &c., was therein?

14. What was the number of the vessels; and where they missed any?

15. Whether there be any other preparation to come hereafter for the defence of this fleet; and what number of men, ships, and furniture there are?

*August 2.—EXAMINATION OF SPANISH PRISONERS.*

[ccxiv. 17.]

*August 2nd*, 1588.—The examination of the Spanish prisoners in Bridewell, which were taken in the ship called the Nuestra Señora del Rosario of Ribadeo, in the parts of Galicia, of the burden of 1,150 tons.

Vicente Alvarez, captain of the said ship.

To the 1st, he saith they departed from Lisbon the 29th of May, *stilo novo*.<sup>1</sup>

To the 2nd, that about four or six days before they departed from the port of Lisbon, proclamation was made with the sound of three drums in every ship, by special persons thereunto appointed,

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that the date of leaving Lisbon varies between the 29th and 30th N.S.—that is, the 19th and 20th. Presumably they did not all go out in one tide.

who had the same delivered them in writing by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, at the commandment of the King, that all such ships as should be taken that did properly appertain to the Queen of England should be adjudged to the King, with their whole furniture and ordnance &c. ; and all ships appertaining to particular persons should be adjudged prize to the taker thereof; and that there was no other proclamation of hostility, whether in the city of Lisbon nor elsewhere, that he heard.

To the 3rd, he saith that they were specially directed unto the Duke of Parma, who by the general report was the man that should take upon him the conquest of England; and that the Duke of Medina Sidonia had order to deliver his forces over unto the Duke of Parma, and to follow his directions in all things.

To the 4th, he saith that it was openly spoken that the place of their landing should be within the river of London; and it was resolved by the whole company, as well captains as soldiers, that in what place soever they should enter within the land, to sack the same, either city, town, village, or whatsoever.

To the 5th, he saith that they were determined to put all to the sword that should resist them, but they had no particular charge to use greater extremity to one than to another.

To the 6th, he saith he brought seven or eight Englishmen in his ship, but he never understood of any particular order that was given to them, either for the sparing or killing of one more than another.

To the 7th, he saith it was commonly bruited amongst them that a third part or one half of the realm of England would join to their aid so soon as they should enter on the land.



To the 8th, he saith that it was certainly understood there that the Duke of Guise would aid them with 30,000 men ; and that being offered to be crowned King of France, refused the same till the wars were ended with England.

To the 9th, he saith that he knoweth not any certainty thereof, but it was a question among them that if the Duke of Parma should conquer this land, who should then enjoy it, either the King or the Duke ? and it was suspected that it would breed a new war between them. He also heard that the King of Spain would establish the Inquisition in this realm.

To the 10th, he saith that there are of men of great title and of the principal blood in this Armada, to the number of 52 persons ; whereof are these following : Duke of Medina Sidonia ; *Príncipe de Ascoli*<sup>1</sup> ; Conde de Xelves ; the son and heir of the Conde de Lemos<sup>2</sup> ; the cousin of the Duke of Medina ; the Marquis of Peñafiel ; the Earl of Parades ; the sons of Ruy Gomez de Silva ; the sons of Don Diego de Cordova ; the sons of the Earl of Barajas ; Don Alonso Martinez de Leyva, &c.

To the 11th, he saith that he knoweth not any of the English more than those seven which came in his ship, whereof two had come to the Court, one with Sir Francis Drake, and the rest, William Stucley, the pilot of the ship, Richard Brierley, and one more, passed forth of the ship before they were taken, promising to fetch them more aid.

To the 12th, he saith there was in the ship wherein he was taken, a chest of the King's, wherein there was 52,000 ducats, of which chest Don Pedro de Valdes had one key, and the King's Treasurer

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Luis de Leyva, *Príncipe de Ascoli*.

<sup>2</sup> D. Pedro de Castro.

or the Duke, another ; besides 4,000 rials of this examinant's, and many other of the gentlemen had good store of money aboard the said ship. Also there was wrought plate of the Duke's and Don Pedro, but to what value he knoweth not ; and that there was great store of precious jewels and rich apparel ; and thinketh there was not four ships so rich in the whole armada.

To the 13th, he saith that there was in his ship 58 pieces of brass ordnance of the King's, great and small, of which the Duke commanded forth seven or eight of them into a pinnace ; so as, he saith, there was 50 pieces, whereof some weighed 75 quintals,<sup>1</sup> 70, 65, 60, and the least 18 quintals, and to every piece, 200 pellets of iron at the least, and powder, 100 quintals. Corslets, 150 ; pikes, 250 ; calivers and muskets, 493, with swords and daggers. Wine of Xeres, Candy,<sup>2</sup> and Ribadavia, 130 or 140 pipes ; vinegar, 10 pipes ; oil, 2 pipes ; rice, 16 pipes ; beef, 10 pipes ; fish, 3 pipes ; biscuit, 700 quintals ; neats' tongues and bacon, 3 pipes ; calves, 3 ; sheep, 50. All which was left by them aboard when they were taken.

To the 14th, he saith that there were 152 sail of ships and galleys, great and small, which came out of the Groyne in Galicia ; whereof there was but four galleys in all, and they were wanting, and two pinnaces, when they met with the English fleet.

To the 15th, he saith that there were, at their departure, 14 or 16 sail of great ships, from 800 to 1,000 ton, in preparation at Lisbon, to bring victual and furniture to the aid of this armada ; and saith that there are with them, of all nations, English, Irish, Scottish, Flemish, French, and Italians ; but what number he knoweth not.

<sup>1</sup> She had no guns of this weight. See *post*, August 29.

<sup>2</sup> Candia.

[The other examinants are Juan de Viana, master of the said ship ; Gongoro, doctor of physic ; Joseph Pelegrin, sergeant of the company to Don Alonzo de Gayas ; Diego de Campos, a soldier ; Marcos de Aybar, sergeant of a band ; Don Sancho Pardo ; Mateo de Fries, a soldier ; Gregorio de Sotomayor, Portuguese ; Alonzo de la Serna de Safra, entretenido ; Luis de Ribera, del Puerto de Santa Maria ; Alonzo Vazquez de Jaen ; Pedro Martin Cabrito de Eijha. Their answers are not so full as those of Vicente Alvarez, but are in essential agreement. Another deposition of Gregorio de Sotomayor is given.

The examination of Giovanni Gaetano (ccxiv. 18), in Italian, sergeant of the company of Pedro de Leon, on board the Capitana of D. Pedro de Valdes, has no particular interest.]

#### *CONFESSION OF GREGORIO DE SOTOMAYOR.*

[ccxiv. 19.—Englished. The original Portuguese has not been preserved.]

The voluntary confession of Gregorio de Sotomayor, written under his own hand in the Portingal tongue, and translated verbatim.

To the 1st, that I am called Gregory de Sotomayor ; and my brother's name, Stephen de Sotomayor, naturals of the town of Melgaço, in the kingdom of Portugal. My father's name was Gonçalo de Sotomayor, and my mother was called Lady Mary de Orasto. Trade or occupation, we have none ; but do live by our goods and rents.

To the 2nd, where the soldiers were levied ? I answer that at the time when they were prepared, I was at mine own house, which is 70 leagues from Lisbon, so that I knew not from whence nor where they were provided. In the kingdom of Portugal there was no preparation of men ; but when they



embarked themselves, they commanded 2,000 Portingals to go aboard upon pain of death.

To the 3rd, I answer that we set sail out of Lisbon the 28th of May, being in all 130 ships; and that there was in them 35,000 men in all, whereof 20,000 were fighting soldiers. We came to the Groyne, but what time I remember not. There we took in fresh victuals, as beef, water, fish, oils, and vinegar; from thence we set sail for this coast, to have joined with the Duke of Parma.

To the 4th, I say it was muttered among the soldiers that, joining with the Duke of Parma, they would divide their people into two parts; and that the one part should have come directly for London, and for the other, there was no speech whither they should go.

To the 5th, I say the common report was that in the realm there would rise great store of people in the favour of the King of Spain, but especially in this city of London; and the report was there should be in all 15,000 men.

To the 6th, concerning what treasure there was in the fleet, I say there was great stores of money and plate which came in the galleon wherein the Duke de Medina was, and in the ship of Don Pedro de Valdes which was taken, and in the admiral of the galleasses, and in the galley royal, and in the vice-admiral wherein was general John Martinez de Recalde, and in the vice-admiral whereof was general Diego Flores, and in the vice-admiral of the pinnaces, and in the vice-admiral of the hulks, and in a Venetian ship in whom came for general Don Alonso de Leyva. The report goeth that this ship brought great store, for that there came in her the Prince of Ascoli, and many other noblemen. This is all I know touching the treasure.

To the 7th, whether I know of any traitors? I say I do not know any, but would be glad to have known them, for to have given her Majesty understanding of them, as a good Portingal. And for the 30 ships which the report goeth are to come with succour for this fleet, it is said they bring great stores of treasure. This is all that I know as well of the interrogatories as otherwise, which I ratify with that which heretofore being examined I have said; and would be glad that I knew more, both for the service of her Majesty and preservation of this kingdom.

I declare further that King Philip did command that the fleet should be victualled for 6 months, but Luis Hezar and Francisco Duarte of Cadiz did victual them but for 4 months, and with that which was nought and rotten. For which occasion the King commanded them to be apprehended; and so they remained prisoners in Portugal at our coming away. And this is the very truth.

*August 2.—ARTICLES FOR THE EXAMINATION  
OF PRISONERS.*

[ccxiv. 20.—Autograph of Lord Burghley.]

In what place and time was the war published by the King against England; and in what sort was the army limited to make advantage of their victories, of ships, of treasure; and what part thereof should be to the King; and what to the General, Admiral, and to the takers?

How was it meant the spoils of London and other towns should be parted; and what profit should be reserved for the King? Whether it was meant to have taken any to ransom or no?

If they had possessed England, what was meant towards Scotland, and to the King, being of the religion?

In what sort was meant to have preceded with Ireland?

To inquire of him who were his first takers; what quantity of treasure he had on shipboard; to whom it was delivered?

What might be the value of the spoil of his ship?

*ARTICLES FOR THE EXAMINATION OF PRISONERS.*

[ccxiv. 21.]

Articles to be ministered to Don Pedro de Valdes and his associates.

1. What was the end and purpose of the King of Spain his sending so great an army by sea into these parts?

2. If his purpose were to invade the realm, with what honour and conscience the King could do the same, considering that her Majesty refused the sovereignty of the Low Countries, being offered sundry times unto her, as well by the general provinces<sup>1</sup> as the united provinces?

3. At what time the examate was made privy that the investiture of this crown was conferred by the Pope upon the King of Spain, or upon that prince that should marry the King's daughter, and who that prince is?

<sup>1</sup> The 'general provinces' would seem to mean the provinces singly, as Holland, Zealand &c.; the 'united provinces' are the collective body.



4. Whether it were resolved that the said King should retain the crown, or the prince should have it that should marry his daughter?

5. How and in what sort they meant to have dealt with the King of Scots, who pretendeth to be a successor to this crown?

6. What princes Catholics were parties or contributories to this enterprise, and what each of them did contribute, upon what conditions, and what support they look for out of France, from whom, and from what place?

7. Whether they had any direction to harbour in France, in what place, and whether the same were with the French King's privity and assent?

8. Whether they had any direction to repair into Scotland, to what place, and what party they looked for to have had there?

9. Which were their two places where they should have made their descent here in this realm; how, by whom, and with what numbers the same should have been made, and what party they did look for here?

10. When the wars were proclaimed against England, and in what sort?

11. Whether, after their departure from Lisbon and their repair to the Groyne, they had any consultation whether it were fit to proceed in the enterprise or not; and whether they did impart unto their said King their resolution, and what direction they received thereupon from him?

12. Whether they had any intelligence that the Lord Admiral was in Plymouth before their departure from the Groyne; by whom they had the said intelligence; whether they had any meaning to attempt anything against him there?

13. What were the numbers of their ships at the time of their departure from Lisbon, and what were

the number of soldiers, mariners, and voluntaries in the same?

14. What money, jewels, and plate was in the ship wherein he was taken, and to whom the same was delivered at the time of his taking, and to whom he yielded prisoner?

15. What number of ships were prepared with men, munition, and victuals to be sent after them; and in what place they were prepared, and to what place they were directed to repair?

16. Which of the Englishmen in the army were privy to the secrets of the enterprise?

17. Whether there was any intent to attempt anything in Ireland; how, by whom, and with what forces?

*August 4.—EXAMINATION OF DON PEDRO DE VALDES.*

[ccxiv. 22.—Signed. Spanish.]

Examination of Don Pedro de Valdes, taken on the 4th of August, 1588.

1. He saith that the King sent this armada to the Prince of Parma for to clear the way, so as he might land in this kingdom and conquer it.

2. He saith that it lieth not with him to answer if the King did well or ill, being a subject, and unable to judge the actions of his prince.

3, 4, 5. He denieth any knowledge thereof; except that it was reported the Duke of Guise should have an understanding with the King of Spain in favour of the King of Scotland.

6. He answers that he hath no knowledge thereof.

7. He saith that they had no intention to touch at any port in France.

8. He saith that he knoweth not of any order to land in Scotland.

9. He saith that for the place where they were to land, it would be ordered by the Prince of Parma; except that if they met with foul weather, they intended to anchor at the Isle of Wight for to repair their damage.

10. He saith that he knoweth not if war had been declared.

11. He saith that off of the Groyne they met with a tempest, by which the greater number of their ships were dispersed, whereof the most part put into havens on the coast of Biscay, others in Asturias, and others came on this coast; after the which they took counsel whether they should proceed or no, and it was resolved to collect the whole army together and proceed; which they notified the King of the same, who sent them order to do as they had resolved.

12. He saith that they received advertisement in Spain that the English fleet was at Plymouth, and should permit them to pass for to follow them. That on coming near this coast they took a fisherman, which told them that the said fleet was at Plymouth; whereupon the Duke called a council to consider of entering there and conquering the said fleet; and this examine was of opinion that it was not fitting to do so, because that the fleet was within the haven, whereof the mouth is so strait as not more than two or three ships could go in abreast, which was insufficient for that action.

13. The number of vessels, as well of great ships as of galleys and galleasses, should be about 100; of other vessels there might be 40. Of soldiers, sailors, gentlemen in the pay of the King, and volunteers, there were 29,000.



14. He saith there were near 20,000 ducats, as also vessels of silver worth another thousand.

15. He saith that ten ships were being made ready at Lisbon; he knoweth not how many were being armed in Andalusia; and they should receive order at the Groyne what they would do.

16. He saith that none of the English are privy to the design &c.

17. He saith there was not.

18. He saith that he knoweth not of any promise to take up arms in favour of the King.

19. He saith that the Duke of Parma hath 36,000 men, as well footmen as horsemen; and some vessels, but small and only meet for transport.

20. He saith that there was no order taken for the spoil on land.

21. He saith that the Duke of Parma sent a flyboat to Lisbon to understand the state of the fleet, as also the cause of their so long stay; and that in company with the said flyboat, the Duke of Medina sent a pinnace<sup>1</sup> to the Duke of Parma, which did not return.

22. He saith that they have few pilots, whereof the most part are Spaniards and unexpert; and that there are few mariners.

23. He saith that when they parted from the Groyne they had victual for four to four and a half months, and water for three months.

*August 3.—WM. BORLAS TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Addressed.]

Right Honourable :—The last of July my Lord Governor was advertised by a small boat that came from the sea that there was one great ship of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. *zabra*.

Spaniards lying between Ostend and the Sluys. Whereupon my Lord sent out presently three men-of-war that lie here before the town, and I myself went out in them; so that the same day about one of the clock we came where he was, having been beaten and dispersed from the fleet by her Majesty's ships; yet he fought with us two hours, and hurt divers of our men; but at the last yielded himself. The commander in her was Don Alonso<sup>1</sup> de Pimentel, the son and heir of the Marquis de Tavera. There was another marquis's son in her, and divers particular gentlemen of good account. I was the means that the best sort were saved; and the rest were cast overboard and slain at the entry. There was slain in her two Englishmen; the one was a brother of my Lord Mountagu's, as your Honour shall see by a letter that I found in the ship.

The same morning there was driven ashore between Nieuport and Ostend another great ship, where there was all the commanders that were in her fetched ashore by them of Nieuport. These are the names of them that were in her:—The Marquis de Peñafiel; Don Francisco de Bobadilla, Master de Campo General; a son<sup>2</sup> of Don Diego de Cordova, Master of the Horse to the King, and a great personage of their religion. The ships both are brought in here, with great store of ordnance and munition in them. This, with my most humble duty, I leave your Honour to the Almighty God. Flushing, the 3rd of August, 1588.

Your Honour's most dutiful to command,

WYLLIAM BORLAS.

<sup>1</sup> In error for Don Diego, camp-master of the Tercio de Sicilia, serving on board the San Mateo (Duro, ii. 77, 285).

<sup>2</sup> D. Felipe de Cordova; according to Duro (ii. 66–7), both he and Peñafiel were in the San Marcos; Bobadilla was with the Duke in the San Martin (ii. 246, 372).

August 3.—WYLLUGHBY<sup>1</sup> TO WALSYNGHAM.

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir:—This morning I arrived here, having by a contrary wind staid on shipboard these two days and two nights. I had well hoped that the men sent for hence had been despatched away before my coming, having been here three days at the least; but I find it far otherwise, neither any shipping provided for them. I hope now there will be no great need to use them, seeing it hath pleased God so well to bless us and prevent the enemy's intention. Nevertheless, I will do my best to send them away presently, according to their Lordships' order. But if there shall be no great need of employing them there, it were very needful they were returned hither again; for the enemy will not be idle, but, to repair their honour, will attempt something presently; and the want of them may greatly hazard some place of importance.

Upon my arrival here, I understand that the Duke of Parma, upon advertisement of the success of their fleet, hath earnestly protested to take revenge of these countries and islands. In the meantime, he hath disarmed the burghers in the most towns they hold, by reason whereof great discontentment is fallen amongst them; and the mariners, which he had got together to be employed at sea, refuse the service, and are grown into a

<sup>1</sup> Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, or—as he chose to spell it—Wyllughby, of Eresby, the 'brave Lord Willoughby' of the ballad, was born in 1555. At this time he was Lord General of the Queen's forces in the Low Countries. He died in 1601, and was buried at Spilsby in Lincolnshire, where there is a monument to his memory. His eldest son Robert, created Earl of Lindsay in 1626, was Admiral and Captain General at Sea in 1635.



mutiny. The Duke himself hath thereupon ordered to be slain ten or twelve of them ; but the rest, notwithstanding, are retired and dispersed, and refuse to serve in that sort.

Those that are taken here cry out upon the Duke of Parma, that they are betrayed by him, because they were not seconded according to their expectation.

And so leaving the success of all things to the good pleasure of the Almighty, I commend you also to his most holy protection.

From Middelburg, the 3rd of August, 1588.

Yours to be commanded,

P. WYLLUGHBY.

*August 3.—KYLLEYGREW TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed.]

It may please your Honour :—In my last unto your Honour, dated the last of July, I gave you to understand of the President Vandermyle's motion made in council, upon the report of a great battle between her Majesty's navy and the Spanish. Yesterday were assembled together about the same matter all the colleges : the Council of Estate, the States General, the States of Holland, the Council of the High Court, and of the Provincial ; whom the President Vandermyle, with a forcible and wise oration, persuaded to this effect :—That, considering the enemy hath stretched himself farther at this time than heretofore, by raising of extraordinary power both by sea and land for the invasion of England, as it is thought, and consequently the ruin and overthrow of these provinces, it might please them to consider how necessary it were for

them, by some extraordinary means, to provide for their own defence ; and if heretofore, at sundry times, the private danger of some particular cities, as of Haerlem, Leyden, Antwerp, and now lastly of Gertruidenberg (which yet could not so nearly touch the common cause), have moved them willingly to bear a great charge, how much more now at this time, when they see the enemy shoot directly at the main mark, ought they to force themselves, and in courage, forwardness, and liberality, to overcome themselves in the defence of their lives, of their wives and children, of their privileges and liberties, of their religion and the cause of God, which, as they have hitherto maintained so many years against a prince so mighty, not by their own power, but by the wonderful hand of God, so were all their pains, all their charges utterly lost, if now at the last gasp they should seem to relent. And whereas the enemy hath now advanced himself so far as to come even before their doors, and, if he had not found resistance of her Majesty's navy, might have entered into their coast long ere this, if now in this time of extremity they shall not yield some special testimony of their forwardness to assist her Majesty in the common defence, how just occasion shall be given her more sparingly to afford them any aid hereafter ; whereas no doubt, by their willingness at this present, her Highness may be induced to continue her favour towards them with increase. The sum of all was this : that for the furnishing of 40 ships more it was necessary to levy some two hundred thousand florins. The motion was generally allowed, and the Council themselves, who never heretofore have been taxed in such kind of extraordinary contributions, have been contented at this time to bear part of the charge for example to the rest.

Now, what report cometh unto us here touching the Spanish fleet and her Majesty's, your Honour may perceive by the enclosed. I did also see a letter from the Admiral Justinus to Count Maurice, written the next day after the fight between Dover and Calais, wherein he signified 14 of her Majesty's navy were come to assist him<sup>1</sup> before Dunkirk, and protested he was resolved there to live and die.

The ships of North Holland, understanding the enemy was so near, made some stay to go to the fleet, but are now purposed, out of an hundred sail which lie in the Vlie, to send thirty choice ships thither, which they say shall be ready within 10 days. Her Majesty's letter unto them of Gertruidenberg was most acceptable to these men, and they would fain have had the original, as I suppose, to refute all such as might hereafter stand upon the like terms, under pretence of her Majesty's name; but my Lord General excused himself, and gave them a copy. They do not find it convenient to deliver the letter, now that all matters at Gertruidenberg are appeased. For the effectuating of the President Vandermyle's motion, the Council are to take their journey some into one quarter, and some into another. The Chancellor of Gueldres<sup>2</sup> and myself are appointed to Utrecht, whither this day (3 *Augusti*) we are going.

Thus, with remembrance of my most humble duty to your Honour, I beseech the Almighty to preserve continually both you and yours. At the Hague, the 3rd of August.

Your Honour's most assuredly to be commanded,  
H. KYLLYGREW.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this in the letters from the fleet. They must have been some of the small craft, apt enough for such service, but useless in the clash of contending fleets.

<sup>2</sup> Or Gelderland.



It may please your Honour to impart the substance of these unto the rest of my Lords, with excuse that I cannot at this, being on my journey, write particularly to their Lordships.

*August 4.—LEICESTER TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 23.—Signed. Addressed.]

Mr. Secretary :—Your letters dated yesterday at the Court I received this morning at the camp. And albeit I do think that you have received such news as be brought me before this time, yet, notwithstanding, I will advertise [you] thereof likewise ; which is, besides the certainty of the Earl of Derby's arrival with [the] rest of the Commissioners at Dover yesterday, that upon Friday<sup>1</sup> last, two of the greatest carracks that the King of Spain had in his fleet, being scattered<sup>2</sup> from the rest, made the best sail they could to recover the Escluse<sup>3</sup> haven ; but being discovered by some Flushingers, they made out, with all the speed they could, certain men-of-war, which did encounter and fight with them ; but the carracks being great vessels, well manned and full of good artillery, defended themselves until certain other men-of-war, Zealanders that rid before Dunkirk and Flanders coast, hearing the fight, came to their aid ; and yet, nevertheless, these carracks fought it out until they saw no remedy ; but in the end they were taken and brought to Flushing, where they now be. This is written unto me for certain, and I do not doubt but that it is true. Thus

<sup>1</sup> By Borlas's letter (*ante*, p. 29) and Howard's Abstract (*post*, p. 58) it was on Wednesday.

<sup>2</sup> Separated. Cf. vol. i. p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Sluys.

for the present I commit you to God. In haste, at  
Tilbury Camp, this 4th of August, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

*August 4.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 26.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—By the receipt of your two last letters dated the 2nd of August, and sent by my servant Floyd, it seemeth her Majesty is graciously pleased with the service which happened the 29th of July last past, which advantage God forbid our enemies had had the like of us; but I hope God alone doth fight for us.

Concerning Mr. Nicholas Gorges' infirmity, his good will and care is such to prefer her Majesty's service, that I doubt both the gentleman and the service; and therefore would gladly favour him, wishing he might be discharged by your honourable direction. Likewise, if you shall think it good, Mr. Thomas Knyvet,<sup>1</sup> that hath accompanied him ever since, may very well be admitted for sufficient among a great many that have been allowed most serviceable.

As touching the Lords Commissioners, if you had not forewarned me to have had care of them, I

<sup>1</sup> Probably Thomas Knyvet of Buckenham, knighted in 1603. He was the grandson and representative of that Sir Thomas Knyvet who perished in the burning of the Regent off Brest in 1512, and of Muriel, the sister of Sir William Howard, father of the Lord Admiral and of the wife of Seymour's brother, the Earl of Hertford. It may, however, have been another Thomas Knyvet, knighted in 1604, and raised to the peerage as Baron Knyvet of Escrick in 1607. He also was the grandson of the captain of the Regent, and his relationship to Howard and Seymour was the same as that of his cousin.

had not failed to have done my part therein, had I been a stranger unto them, in respect of the honour of her Majesty and my country.

I have likewise advertised Justinus de Nassau of our late conflicts, wishing<sup>1</sup> him to stand upon his guard, and that we will be ready to assist him with the next favourable winds.

I am likewise advertised that these Hollanders have lighted upon these argosies which we did distress, and that they have received great spoil thereof.

Thus, praying that God may continue these violent and strong winds to the further distressing of the Spaniards, do leave you to your infinite cares of this troublesome time. From aboard the Rainbow, this 4th of August, 1588, in Margate Road, at 11 of the clock in the night.

Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

If you think the [ships<sup>2</sup>] shall need any further supply of victuals, it would be considered in time; for, as I take it, Mr. Gorges' company do expire 3 weeks hence, and we have taken in our victuals at Harwich the 3rd of this month of August, which is almost 8 days difference.

I have not yet received my Lords' other letters, which you should<sup>3</sup> send me by my lieutenant.

*August 4.—FENNER TO WALSYNGHAM*

[ccxiv. 27.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Right Honourable:—I assure myself you are ascertained of our encounters with the enemy on

<sup>1</sup> Wishing=praying, desiring.      <sup>2</sup> Word omitted in MS.

<sup>3</sup> I was told you would send.



Monday, the 29th of July, in long continuance and great force of shot on both sides; many of their ships wonderfully spoiled and beaten, to the utter ruin of three of the greatest sort, beside the cutting off the galleass, the enemy thereby greatly weakened.

A thing greatly to be regarded, that the Almighty hath stricken them with a wonderful fear; in that I hardly have seen any of their companies succoured of their extremities which befell them after their fights, but left at utter ruin, without regard,<sup>1</sup> bearing always as much sail as possible they might, holding the rest of their army together. The<sup>2</sup> want of powder, and shot, and victual hath hindered much service which otherwise might have been performed in continuance with them, to their utter subversion in keeping them from water. There were many ships in our fleet not possessed with three days' victuals.

The causes aforesaid considered in council, the second of this instant in the morning, pursuing the enemy until we came into 55 degrees and about two and thirty leagues from our coast in that height: it was thought meet for the safety of men's lives and shipping, the wind being southerly, to shape our course for the Frith in Scotland, to relieve our wants with water and such other things as the benefit of that place would yield, thereby to attain that place for the better regard both of England and Scotland.

It was intended, at our coming thither, that my Lord of Cumberland should have passed unto the King of Scots, to acquaint his Majesty of the accidents that had happened; as also to stir his Majesty to provide some defensive power, if the enemy should draw unto his coasts; wherein her Majesty's power should assist with all their force.

Two pinnaces were left to follow the fleet afar

<sup>1</sup> Notice taken of them.

<sup>2</sup> Our.

off, until they<sup>1</sup> were shot<sup>2</sup> beyond the Isles of Orkneys and Shetland, unto which place they continued their courses. And if, by any change of wind, they shaped their course otherwise, then, if wind would permit, the pinnaces [were] to advertise us at the Firth; and<sup>3</sup> not finding us there, to come alongst our own coast with the advertisement.

The 2nd of August, about 12 of the clock at noon, we hauled west, the better to recover our coast to attain the Frith, the enemy going away North-West and by North, as they did before.

Being hauled in fifteen leagues west, the 3rd of August in the morning, about ten of the clock, the wind came up at North-West. Counsel therefore taken—it was thought meet to take the benefit thereof for our reliefs of powder, shot, and victual, and so as to bear with all possible speed to the North Foreland; and as<sup>4</sup> if the enemy should return, we might be beforehand furnished of some of our wants, the readier thereby to offend<sup>5</sup> them.

I will deliver your Honour mine opinion, wherein I beseech your pardon if it fall out otherwise. I verily believe<sup>6</sup> great extremity shall force them if they behold England in sight again. By all that I can gather, they are weakened of eight of their best sorts of shipping, which contained many men; as also many wasted in sickness and slaughter. Their masts and sails much spoiled; their pinnaces and boats, many cast off and wasted; wherein they shall find great wants when they come to land and water,

<sup>1</sup> Sc. the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> Advanced, got. Cf. vol. i. p. 242, where the word is used in the same sense, also by Fenner.

<sup>3</sup> Or, if they did not find.

<sup>4</sup> So that.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 187: 'Consult how we may henceforth most offend our enemy.'

<sup>6</sup> That unless great extremity force them, they will not behold &c.

which they must do shortly or die; and where or how, my knowledge cannot imagine. As the wind serveth,<sup>1</sup> no place but between the Foreland and Hull. Considering the shallows and sands<sup>2</sup> not greatly to be doubted, the hugeness and great draught of water in their ships considered, and otherwise the wind as it is at North-West, they have no place to go withal, but for the Scaw in Denmark, which were an hard adventure as the season<sup>3</sup> of the year approacheth. If the wind by change suffer them, I verily believe they will pass about Scotland and Ireland to draw themselves home; wherein, the season of the year considered, with the long course they have to run and their sundry distresses, and—of necessity—the spending of time by watering, winter will so come on as it will be to their great ruin.

God hath mightily protected her Majesty's forces with the least losses that ever hath been heard of, being within the compass of so great volleys of shot, both small and great. I verily believe there is not three score men lost of her Majesty's forces. God make us and all her Majesty's good subjects to render hearty praise and thanks unto the Lord of Lords therefor.

I will ever hold myself bound for your honourable and godly points in your letter of the 25th of July, so as to depend upon the good providence of God, unto whom I will, both in season and out of season, call upon him, with a faithful assurance that he will defend his from the raging enemy who goeth about to beat down his word and devour his people. My trust is their imaginations shall fall upon themselves, as a just plague for their wicked-

<sup>1</sup> With the wind at N.W. by N., they can fetch no place but &c.

<sup>2</sup> The influence or effect of which is not greatly &c.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. the bad season.



ness and idolatry. God continue me such as your expectation in me and other of my name be not deceived ; and that we may continue as faithful servants and subjects to her Majesty ; not regarding the peril of life, to slack any one jot in that is meet for men to do in this her Majesty's needful service. God mightily defend my gracious mistress from the raging enemy ; not doubting but that all the world shall know and see that her Majesty's little army, guided by the finger of God, shall beat down the pride of his enemies and hers, to his great glory ; unto whom I betake your Honour. From aboard the good ship of her Majesty the Nonpareil, this 4th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's in all love and

duty for ever to command,

THOMAS FENNER.

Within two hours after the writing of this letter the wind came up at South-West, so as thereby the enemy was able neither to seize<sup>1</sup> England, Ireland, Scotland, Flanders, and hardly the out isles of Scotland. This 4th day and 5th, especially at night, continued very great storm at South-West, [we] being forced to ride out in the sea the extremity thereof. Which storm hath, in mine opinion, touched the enemy very near ; for divers considerations following viz. : the great sea-gate<sup>2</sup> about those isles ; the hugeness of their shipping, who were so light as in fair weather would hardly bear their topsails ; also the cold climate they are in toucheth them near, and will do daily more and more. Mine opinion is they are by this time so distressed, being

<sup>1</sup> 'Seize' appears to be used in the same sense as recover, or as the modern 'make' or 'fetch.'

<sup>2</sup> Swell ; cf. Manwayring, 85 : 'There can no great sea-gate come in.' 'Gate' means going, motion, and 'sea-gate' may be compared with the modern 'sea-way,' or 'run of the sea.'

so far thrust off, as many of them will never see Spain<sup>1</sup> again; which is the only work of God, to chastise their malicious practices, and to make them know that neither the strengths of men, nor their idolatrous gods can prevail, when the mighty God of Israel stretcheth out but his finger against them. God make all her Majesty's good subjects thankful.

THOMAS FENNER.

*August 4.—BOROUGH TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 24.—Signed. Addressed :—For the affairs of her Majesty. Deliver this to the post at Rochester. Minuted :—Received at Rochester by a sailor which came afoot the 5th day of August at 8 in the forenoon.]

After my duty unto your Honour in most humble wise duly considered :—I have received from your Honour two letters; one, by my servant, bearing date the 30th of July; the other, of the first of this month, from the Court at St. James; which last came by way of post to Margate, and from Margate was sent me by water, which I received here yesterday in the forenoon; whereby I understand that Captain Bellingham hath the charge of ten merchant ships, with which he is appointed to go to the coast of Flanders, to join there with the Hollanders and Zealanders for keeping in the forces of the Duke of Parma at Dunkirk and Nieuport; and that my Lords of the Council have appointed me, with the galley, to continue at the Land's End,<sup>2</sup> to give warning to the army now lying at Tilbury, in case the Duke of Parma should, with the help of an easterly wind, slip upon this coast.

I suppose my Lords' and your Honour's meaning

<sup>1</sup> MS. Spayngne.

<sup>2</sup> The Land's End in Sheppey is Shell Ness.

is, that I should remain with the galley here, where I am ; which I mean to do. But because the last letter, sent by way of post, was directed to Margate, I may doubt that the Land's End<sup>1</sup> therein specified might be meant the point of Thanet by Margate, and if it be so, I will remove thither when I shall understand your further pleasure therein.

My purpose is, if I shall perceive the forces of the Duke of Parma to approach this place, to go up the river before the same ; and by the way to be shooting off great ordnance, to give warning, to the country and army at Tilbury, of the coming of the enemy, until I come as high as Gravesend, where I purpose to stay and stop a gap with the galley, at anchor or otherwise, between the two blockhouses there, with her prow towards the enemy, to join with those forts to impeach their landing and passage higher up the river. Where if I be not spoiled and overthrown by the enemy, and that they pass by that place up the river towards London, I will follow after them, by the permission of the Almighty, and will do them what spoil I can, so long as life shall last.

There are now riding against Leigh ten ships, which I suppose are those that Mr. Bellingham hath charge of. Captain Gorges, with seven ships, and certain hoys and barks laden with victuals for the Lord Henry Seymour and his fleet, put off from the North Foreland on Thursday last at night, to seek the Lord Admiral. The Lord Henry Seymour with his fleet (for want of victuals) put into Harwich upon Thursday last. I pray God bless her Majesty and all her forces, and send happy success and victory over our enemies.

Written aboard the galley, at anchor in the mouth of Thames, between the Land's End in

<sup>1</sup> Probably Fore Ness.



Sheppey and Little Wakering in Essex, the 4th of August, 1588, at 8 of the clock in the forenoon.

Your Honours' most humble and  
ever ready at command,  
W. BOROUGH.

*Postscript, on the outside.*—The ten ships set sail at Leigh to come down the river, after this letter was sealed. W. B.

*August 6.*—SEYMOUR, WYNTER, AND PALMER  
TO THE COUNCIL.

[ccxiv. 39.—Signed. Addressed.]

We have received your Lordships' letters, dated at St. James the 4th of this present, delivered unto us by John Wynter, riding between Margate and the North Foreland, and troubled with a great storm at the WSW., by the which it appeareth that her Majesty would have us to consider upon a fit strength to be left here in the Narrow Seas, for the keeping in of the Prince of Parma, to be left under the government of Sir Henry Palmer, knight ; and that I, the Lord Henry Seymour, with Sir William Wynter and the rest, should repair to the North parts, for the better strengthening of the Lord Admiral. Whereupon conference hath been held among us, to the which the wisest, skilfullest masters and pilots of our companies hath been called.

First, it may please your Lordships to understand that the last news we had of the Lord Admiral being with our army was by a ship that came to Harwich upon Friday last ; who declared that the Wednesday before, about 3 of the clock

in the afternoon, he saw the Lord Admiral with his army athwart of Yarmouth, more than half seas over, bearing after the Spanish army, the wind being then by the South-East, a indifferent wind to have gone to the North or else to the South. But he said the Spanish army bare away, with all the sails they were able to make, North and by West ; which doth argue a meaning in them not to return, as we conjecture ; since which time the wind hath been continually between the SSW. and WSW., blowing for the most part a storm, so that we do reckon them to be very far to the northwards. Emden or Hamburg we think they dare not bear withal, with ships of such charge as they have ; and then must they be forced to go with the Skaw, or to bear, with some of the south winds, in Norway ; for we think they can fett<sup>1</sup> no part of Scotland, because that they are ships of no vantage in sailing. And if we should go the northwards to seek the Lord Admiral, it would be a great chance for us to meet his Lordship, the odds of ten to one.

The weather hath been such as no man hath been able to look upon the coast of Flanders this seven or eight days past ; nor yet that any there hath or can put forth. And if there were any Flushingers or Hollanders attending about Dunkirk, as it seemeth by your Lordships' letters that there was, we do assure ourselves this weather, which of late hath happened, hath put them all roome with<sup>2</sup> Flushing. Herewithal your Lordships shall receive a note of such ships of war as are now in our company.

Your Lordships shall understand that, in plying to get the North Foreland from Harwich, the

<sup>1</sup> Fetch.

<sup>2</sup> Hath forced them all to bear up for Flushing.

Vanguard hath spent her main topmast, the weather was such ; which, by God's favour, shall be supplied from Sandwich with a new one to-morrow ; and then, although this wind be westerly, which doth keep in the Dunkirkers and all those upon that coast, yet we mean to show ourselves there, that they may know we are ready to receive them, if their stomachs will serve them to come forth when they have opportunity of weather.

This long foul weather past may breed a later summer ; wherefore we humbly pray your Lordship that ye will send us victuals from time to time, as we may make a reckoning never to have less in us than three weeks' victuals at the least. Also we humbly pray your Lordships that there may be sent us by the officers of the Tower, 500 ells of canvas ; as also 200 quires of paper royal for to make cartridges.

And lastly, for our opinions : If your Lordships keep this force here in strength, with such help as the Hollanders and Flushingers may join to ours, we hope in God to put Parma and his consorts besides all his Italian devices. We know that the Lord Admiral's purpose, at our departing, was not to urge any further fighting with the Spanish army, but to follow them, and to make head if need were ; and for that purpose his Lordship's strength was sufficient, as it was thought by my Lord and his council. And weighing the uncertainty of our meeting with his Lordship, if we should seek after him, and the certain service we shall be able to do here, we conclude that it is better for us to keep our strength here than otherwise to put it to hazard. Nevertheless, we are to obey your Lordships' pleasures. So most humbly taking our leaves, do beseech God long to preserve her Majesty and your Lordships. Written in the Downs, aboard the



Rainbow (with the wind West-South-West), the  
6th of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' humbly to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

W. WYNTER.

HENRY PALMER.

*August 6.—A LIST OF SHIPS WITH LORD  
HENRY SEYMOUR.*

[ccxiv. 39, I.—Enclosed in the foregoing.]

The 6th of August, *anno* 1588.

A note of the names of all the ships that are  
now serving her Majesty under my charge, viz. :—

The Rainbow.	The Sun.
Vanguard.	Fancy, absent by
Antelope	leave.
Tiger.	Cygnets.
Bull.	George Hoy, absent
Scout.	at Flushing.
Tramontana.	Bonavolia, absent at
Achates.	Nore-head.
Spy, absent by leave.	Brigandine.
Merlin.	

Coast Ships.

Hull . . .	{ The Griffin.
	{ Little Hare.
	{ Handmaid.
Ipswich and Harwich	{ William.
	{ Katharine.
	{ Primrose.
Hastings . . .	Anne Bonaventure.
Rye . . .	William.
Hythe . . .	Grace of God.

Dover . . . .	The Elizabeth. <sup>1</sup>
Sandwich . . . .	Reuben.
Feversham . . . .	Hazard, absent at Harwich.
Yarmouth . . . .	Grace.
Lynn . . . . .	Mayflower.
Colchester . . . .	William.
Chichester and Romney .	John.

Ships which came from London under the charge of Mr. Nicholas Gorges, Esquire:—

The Susan Parnell.	The George Bonaventure.
Violet.	Jane Bonaventure.
Solomon.	Vineyard.
Anne Frances.	Samuel, absent.

Ships which came from London under the charge of Henry Bellingham:—

The George Noble.	The Antelope.
Anthony.	Jewel.
Toby.	Pansy.
Salamander.	Providence
Rose Lion.	Dolphin.

*August 6.—THE STATES OF ZEALAND TO  
THE QUEEN.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Endorsed. French.]

Madam :—It greatly rejoiceth us to understand, by your Majesty's letters, your good contentment with our service, which, notwithstanding the exceeding charges arising out of the tumults in this country, we have willingly made for the common defence against the enemy before Dunkirk, whereby,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Elin Nathan.

besides the good effect of the same, we hope that your Majesty, being truly instructed, will be the more favourably disposed towards us ; for that our fleet, under the charge of Count Justinus of Nassau, being happily arrived and riding off of Dunkirk at the very time of the discovery of the armada of Spain, the forces of the Prince of Parma, then ready to put to sea, were, by the same, closely locked in and stayed within the said Dunkirk ; whereby we have so seconded the victory of your Majesty's ships of war, as not only have we thus easily made ourselves masters<sup>1</sup> of these three Spanish ships here, partly taken, partly wrecked, but also that the battle<sup>2</sup> of the armada of Spain, being pursued by the English ships, hath been constrained to bend its course northwards, seeing no hope of succour from the Prince of Parma, whereon they chiefly depended, as the prisoners report, who say that the said armada was straitly commanded by the King of Spain to bear at once with Calais and Dover, where they should find or stay for the forces of the Prince of Parma, having also no boats fit<sup>3</sup> for landing withal, but should be furnished with the same by the said prince. Which prince, although he was ready and his soldiers embarked, he has been and now is so closely locked in by our ships in the havens of Nieuport and Dunkirk, that, notwithstanding all his force, we hope by the grace of God that he will be unable to come out, and that your Majesty's ships shall have occasion to prevail over the rest of the Spanish fleet, which we understand it to be altogether beaten and spoiled.

And whereby our said service, in keeping and locking in the forces of the said prince, hath been

<sup>1</sup> MS. *impatronés*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *le corps de l'armade*, the main body of the fleet.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *idoines*.



the chief cause of the overthrow<sup>1</sup> of the said armada, we understand that in place of attributing to us and to our fleet a part of the victory, that our ill-wishers do unjustly blame us for that our ships should have been withdrawn, as unwilling to assist your Majesty's; although it is apparent that the defeat of the said armada of Spain doth consist chiefly and entirely in this, that the said prince, remaining where he still is, was unable to succour and strengthen it with his forces; and especially do we desire to assure your Majesty that we will not cease to use all possible diligence, to the end he may rest locked in where he is.

But to give your Majesty some intelligence of that has passed here. It will please your Majesty to understand that out of the Spanish ships which were already utterly spoiled by the ordnance of your Majesty's ships, there are 400 prisoners, whereof are persons of quality as yet known, the following<sup>2</sup>:—Don Diego de Pimentel, Don Juan de Velasco, Don Juan de Toledo, Captain Martin de Avalos, Captain [Francisco] Marques, Captain Alonso de Vargas. [Here enclosed is the confession of the camp-master Pimentel,<sup>3</sup> and of others lately come to us out of Holland, whereby your Majesty shall be fully advertised of the truth, as also by the depositions of two sailors<sup>3</sup> escaped from the Spanish fleet.<sup>4</sup>] The prisoners do hold it for a miracle that amongst the slain, as well the English ordnance as our own, for the little it did, hath always struck down the principal traitors, and amongst others hath slain the banished English lords; the list whereof, according to the confessions of the prisoners here—the chief

<sup>1</sup> MS. *désespoir*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *lesquels pour encore avons sorti reconnoistre*.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, pp. 75, 77.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is written as a note in the margin.

of them having been carried into Holland—is herein enclosed. Out of one ship, whereof D. Pedro de Toledo was captain, the said D. Pedro, with all the gentlemen of quality and their richest furniture, escaped in some boats sent out to them from Nieuport. The two ships brought here, the ordnance thereof hath been saved by us, but all else hath been pillaged with great disorder; and the said ships, as well as by cause of the damage they had received in fight, as by the bad conduct of the same, the one sank in the haven of Flushing, and the other athwart of Rammekens. The third sank between Ostend and Blankenberg, without anything being saved.

All the prisoners, as well the gentlemen of quality as those of the common sort, agree that their intent was, with the aid and forces of the Prince of Parma, to attack England straightway, there being embarked in Spain about 40,000 men, viz., 20,000 soldiers volunteers, 10,000 constrained to serve,<sup>1</sup> and 12,000 mariners. And to this end the said prince still holdeth his army in readiness, to the number of 25,000 men, with ships full of saddles, bridles, boots, spurs, and everything needful for such an enterprise. It is reported that the King of Spain should have sent him the crown and sceptre of England blessed by the Pope, and that he should have been made king if the enterprise had met with good success; and truly he hath much correspondence in the country, and receiveth certain advertisements therefrom.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *forçats*, pressed men, in opposition to the previous *soldats volontaires*. Cf. *ante*, page 23, 'they commanded 2,000 Portingals to go aboard, upon pain of death.' The word can here scarcely mean slaves, for, though these numbers are much exaggerated, the 2,000 galley slaves in the fleet could hardly be turned into 10,000. It must be remembered, too, that the French is that of a Dutchman.

As the prisoners do report—wherewith other things concur—the rest of the armada of Spain, pursued by your Majesty's fleet, will return hither with the first occasion, and that the Prince of Parma, to avoid further blame and to remove the stains of the past, wherewith he is much despited, will second it, whatever may be the cost of the same, so that it is necessary to be watchful on all sides. May God bless and prosper<sup>1</sup> the holy and virtuous plans and enterprises of your Majesty, and of your officers and servants; hoping always that, by his grace, your Majesty shall gain renown and everlasting glory throughout the whole world in our just quarrel, seeking to cast down the heart of the hardened and *outrécuidé* Pharaoh by the hand of a lady who has never given him cause of offence, so as it is not to be doubted that, by the means and extraordinary succour of God, your Majesty's justice and innocence will prevail over his pride. This, humbly kissing your Majesty's valiant hands, we beseech your Majesty to hold us always in your protection and safeguard. From Middelburg, the 16th of August, 1588.

Your Majesty's most humble and  
must obedient servants

The Council of the States of Zeeland,  
and by their order,

\* \* \* \*

August 7.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxiv. 40.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir :—We have omitted no time for taking in the Lords Commissioners, who are this day arrived at Dover. I perceive by my Lord of Derby that the

<sup>1</sup> MS *bienheurer*.

<sup>2</sup> The signature is undecipherable.



Duke of Parma hath withdrawn his sea forces to Bruges and to Dixmude; and that all the Spanish commissioners, the Count Aremberg and the rest, were met by the post of Antwerp at Bruges town's-end; also news came to Calais that Breda was revolted; and doubted at Calais, by common opinion, that the withdrawing of the Duke's forces was either for Ostend, Bergen-op-Zoom, or Breda, or some other peece.<sup>1</sup> It seemeth the Duke is in a great chafe to see his ships no readier at Dunkirk, also to find such discomfiture of the Spanish fleet hard by his nose. I can say no more, but God doth show his mighty hand for protecting this little island, for his glory and to the honour of our country. God in heaven bless her Majesty and prosper all your honourable proceedings. From aboard the Rainbow, the 7th of August, 1588, at Dover, going to-morrow out again with our navy.

Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

I am advertised that some supply of victuals should come from Spain. I have again sent to the Flushingers, to understand their minds, which as yet I have no word [of]. Now her Majesty, if it please her, may take upon her the absolute government of Holland and Zeeland. Also the India fleet could be met withal.

*August 7.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 42.—Signed; autograph postscript. Addressed.]

Sir:—In our last fight with the enemy before Gravelines, the 29th of July, we sank three of their

<sup>1</sup> The writing is Seymour's, and is quite plain; but surely he meant to write 'place.' Cf. *post*, p. 121.

ships, and made four to go room with the shore so leak<sup>1</sup> as they were not able to live at sea. After that fight, notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing, until we had cleared our own coast and some part of Scotland of them. And then, as well to refresh our ships with victuals, whereof most stood in wonderful need, as also in respect of our want of powder and shot, we made for the Frith, and sent certain pinnaces to dog the fleet until they should be past the Isles of Scotland, which I verily do believe they are left at their sterns ere this. We are persuaded that either they are past about Ireland, and so do what they can to recover their own coast, or else that they are gone for some part of Denmark. I have herewith sent unto you<sup>2</sup> a brief abstract of such accidents as have happened, which hereafter, at better leisure, I will explain by more particular relations.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the Ark, the 7th of August, 1588.

Your very loving friend,  
C. HOWARD.

Good Mr. Secretary, let not her Majesty be too hasty in dissolving her forces by sea and land; and I pray you send me with speed what advertisements you have of Dunkirk, for I long to do some exploit<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leaky.

<sup>2</sup> Howard's secretary here wrote 'your Honour.' The 'r' and 'Honour' are erased, presumably by Howard's direction; but it is worth noting that the letter, with this significant erasure, was sent to Walsyngham.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably the Relation printed *ante*, vol. i. p. 1. In comparison with this Relation, and the Abstract of Accidents which here follows, see the Journal of Medina Sidonia, *post*, Appendix E.

<sup>4</sup> MS. dow some explyte.

on their shipping. If the Duke's forces be retired into the land, I doubt not but to do good. I must thank you for your favourable using<sup>1</sup> of my brother Hoby. He telleth me how forwards you were to further all things for our wants. I would some were of your mind. If we had had that which had been sent, England and her Majesty had had the most honour that ever any nation had. But God be thanked ; it is well.

*A BRIEF ABSTRACT OF ACCIDENTS.*

[ccxiv. 42, I.—Enclosure in the foregoing.]

A Declaration of the Proceeding of the  
two Fleets.

*July 19th, Friday.*] Upon Friday, being the 19th of this present month, part of the Spanish navy, to the number of 50 sail, was discovered about the Isles of Scilly, hovering in the wind as it seemed to attend the rest of the fleet ; and the next *20th, Saturday.*] day, at three of the clock in the afternoon, the Lord Admiral got forth with our navy out of Plymouth, though with some difficulty, the wind being at South-West. Notwithstanding, through the great travail used by our men, they not only cleared the harbour, but also the next day, *21st, Sunday.*] being Sunday, about 9 of the clock in the morning, recovered the wind of the whole fleet, which, being thoroughly descried, was found to consist of 120 sail, great and small.

At the same instant the Lord Admiral gave them fight within the view of Plymouth, from whence the Mayor,<sup>2</sup> with others, sent them continually supplies of men, till they were past their

<sup>1</sup> MS. yousyng.

<sup>2</sup> William Hawkyns, brother of Sir John.



coast. This fight continued till one of the clock the same day, wherein the enemy was made to bear room with some of his ships to stop their leaks. The same day, by an accident of fire happening in one of their great ships of the burden of . . .<sup>1</sup> tons, there were blown up with powder about 120 men, the rest being compelled to leave her ; and so she was by the Lord Admiral sent into the west parts<sup>2</sup> of England.

*22nd, Monday.*] Upon Monday the 22nd one of the chief galleons, wherein was Don Pedro de Valdes with 450 men, was taken, by reason of his mast that was spent with the breaking of his bowsprit,<sup>3</sup> so as he presently yielded, with sundry gentlemen of good quality.

*23rd, Tuesday.*] On Tuesday the 23rd the Lord Admiral, chasing the enemy, who had then gotten some advantage of the wind, and thereupon seemed more desirous to abide our force than before, fell in fight with them over against St. Albans, about five of the clock in the morning, the wind being at North-East ; and so continued with great force on both sides till late in the evening, when the wind coming again to be South-West, and somewhat large,<sup>4</sup> they began to go roomwards.<sup>5</sup>

*24th, Wednesday.*] The same night and all Wednesday the Lord Admiral kept very near unto *25th, Thursday.*] the Spanish fleet, and upon Thursday the 25th, over against Dunnose, part of the Isle of Wight, the Lord Admiral, espying Captain Frobiser with a few other ships to be in a sharp fight with the enemy, and fearing they should be distressed, did, with five of his best ships, bear up towards the admiral of the Spanish fleet ; and

<sup>1</sup> Blank in MS. The ship was the San Salvador, of 958 tons.

<sup>2</sup> Weymouth.

<sup>3</sup> MS. boare spitt.

<sup>4</sup> Strong, fresh.

<sup>5</sup> To leeward ; they bore up.

so breaking into the heart of them, began a very sharp fight, being within two or three score<sup>1</sup> one of the other, until they had cleared Captain Frobiser and made them give place.

26th, *Friday*.] The next day, being the 26th, the Lord Admiral only continued his pursuit of the enemy, having still increased his provisions, and keeping the wind of them.

27th, *Saturday*.] Upon Saturday the 27th, about 8 of the clock at night, the Lord Henry Seymour, Admiral in the Narrow Seas, joined with the Lord Howard in Whitsand Bay, over against the cliffs of Calais, and anchored together; and the Spanish fleet rode also at anchor to leewards of the Lord Admiral, and nearer to Calais road.

28th, *Sunday*.] The 28th, the Lord Admiral prepared seven ships, fitted with pitch, tar, and other necessities, for the burning of some of the enemy's fleet; and at 11 of the clock at night, the wind and tide serving, put that stratagem in execution, the event whereof was this:—Upon Monday 29th, *Monday*.] the 29th, early in the morning, the admiral<sup>2</sup> of the enemy's galleasses, riding next to our fleet, let slip her anchor and cable to avoid the fires; and driving thwart another galleass,<sup>3</sup> her cable took hold of the other rudder,<sup>4</sup> and brake it clean away, so that with her oars she was fain to get into Calais road for relief. All the rest of the Spanish fleet either cut or let slip their anchors and cables, set sail and put to the sea, being chased from that road.

After this the Lord Admiral sent the lieutenant<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sc. paces.

<sup>2</sup> The San Lorenzo.

<sup>3</sup> Really a galleon, the San Juan de Sicilia, of 800 tons.

<sup>4</sup> There is here a strange confusion of pronouns. It was the San Juan's cable which took hold of the San Lorenzo's rudder.

<sup>5</sup> Amyas Preston.

of his own ship, with 100 of his principal men, in a long boat to recover the galleass so distressed near Calais ; who after some sharp fight, with the loss of some men, was possessed of her, and having slain a great number of the enemies, and namely their captain-general of the four galleasses, called Don Hugo de Moncada, son to the Viceroy of Valencia, with divers gentlemen of good reckoning carried prisoners to the English fleet. In this pursuit<sup>1</sup> of the fireworks by our force, the Lord Howard in fight<sup>2</sup> spoiled a great number of them, sank three, and drove four or five on the shore ; so as at that time it was assured that they had lost at the least 16 of their best ships.

The same day, after the fight, the Lord Admiral followed the enemy in chase, the wind continuing at West and South-West ; who, bearing room northwards, directly towards the Isles of Scotland, were by his Lordship followed near hand, until they brought themselves within the height of 55 degrees.

30th, *Tuesday*.] The 30th, one of the enemy's great ships was espied to be in great distress by the captain<sup>3</sup> of her Majesty's ship called the Hope ; who being in speech of yielding unto the said captain, before they could agree on certain conditions, sank presently before their eyes.

31st, *Wednesday*.] It is also advertised that the 31st, two of their great ships, being in the like distress, and grievously torn in the fight aforesaid, are since taken by certain Hollanders and brought into Flushing. The principal person of the greatest of them is called Don Pimentel, being also one of the Maestri del Campo.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. following up the effect of &c.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. has 'sight,' which appears to be a blunder of the copying clerk.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Robert Crosse.



*August 8.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 50.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—I did write yesterday by my Lord of Cumberland, to her Majesty, to my Lord Treasurer, and to you, being athwart of Harwich, a-seaboard 10 leagues. My Lord bare with a pinnace into Harwich; I bare with some of the ships into Margate road; where the rest be gone I do not know, for we had a most violent storm as ever was seen at this time of the year, that put us asunder athwart of Norfolk, amongst many ill-favoured sands; but I trust they do all well, and I hope I shall hear of them this night or to-morrow.

I pray to God we may hear of victuals, for we are generally in great want; and also that I may know how the coast ships of the west shall be victualled; and also that order be taken for the victualling and for munition for the ships of London. I know not what you think of it at the Court, but I do think, and so doth all here, that there cannot be too great forces maintained yet for five or six weeks, on the seas; for although we have put the Spanish fleet past the Frith, and I think past the Isles, yet God knoweth whether they go either to the Nase of Norway or into Denmark or to the Isles of Orkney to refresh themselves, and so to return; for I think they dare not return<sup>1</sup> with this dishonour and shame to their King, and overthrow of their Pope's credit. Sir, sure bind, sure find. A kingdom is a great wager. Sir, you know security is dangerous; and God had not been our best friend, we should have found it so. Some made little account of the Spanish force by sea; but I do warrant you, all the world never saw such a force as theirs was; and some

<sup>1</sup> Sc. to Spain.

Spaniards that we have taken, that were in the fight at Lepanto, do say that the worst of our four fights that we have had with them did exceed far the fight they had there; and they say that at some of our fights we had 20 times as much great shot, there plied as they had there. Sir, I pray to God that we may be all thankful to God for it; and that it may be done by some order, that the world may know we are thankful to him for it.

Sir, I pray you let me hear what the Duke of Parma doth, with some speed; and where his forces by sea are.

Sir, in your next letters to my brother Stafford<sup>1</sup> I pray write to him that he will let Mendoza<sup>2</sup> know that her Majesty's rotten ships dare meet with his master's sound ships; and in buffeting with them, though they were three great ships to one of us, yet we have shortened them 16 or 17; whereof there is three of them a-fishing in the bottom of the seas. God be thanked of all. Sir, I pray you let this gentleman receive thanks; he hath well deserved it with great valour. Sir, Mr. Chidley<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Vavasour<sup>4</sup> are worthy of great commendation for

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Stafford, at this time ambassador at Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Don Bernardino de Mendoza, formerly ambassador of Spain in London, and at this time in Paris. He had received a letter from Calais announcing the utter defeat of the English fleet, and, eagerly accepting it as true, sent the news to Madrid and published it in Paris. The astounding falsehood to which he had thus carelessly given currency caused great indignation in this country, where it was translated and published with a commentary, under the title of *A Pack of Spanish Lies*. Mendoza's name naturally lent itself to many angry puns. See Duro, i. 175 and ii. 224.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Chydle. John Chidley, or Chudleigh, was lost the next year in the galleon Leicester, in command of an expedition to the Straits of Magellan.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Thomas Vavasour, who commanded the Antelope at the Islands in 1597, and was knighted by the Earl of Essex.

their valour. Sir, being in haste and much occupied, I bid you most heartily farewell. Margate road, the 8th of August.

Your most assured loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, if I hear nothing of my victuals and munition this night here, I will gallop to Dover to see what may be [got] there, or else we shall starve.

*August 8.—DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 49.—Holograph. Addressed. In bad condition, and very badly written.<sup>1</sup>]

Most Honourable.—The 8th of August I received your Honour's letter [of the] last of July, by the which I understand [how hard] a thing it is upon a sudden to procure [what] was and is most necessary for the defence [of such] an army as the King of Spain had se[t forth].

To conclude, let us all with one accord [praise] God the only [stock<sup>2</sup>] giver, who of his only [will] hath sent this proud enemy of his truth where he hath tasted of his power, as well by storm and tempest, as he doth and did by putting away from the coast of . . . .<sup>3</sup> Whether he mind to return or not I [know] not, but my opinion to your Honour is, that I [think] he neither mindeth nor is in case to d[o so]. Certainly their people were many sick, [and] without doubt many killed; and that, [by report] of such as are taken, their ships, [masts], ropes, and sails much decayed by [shot], and more it had been had we not [wan]ted powder and &c.

<sup>1</sup> Drake's writing, at its best, was very bad. When he was 'half sleeping' it was not at its best.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in the sense of 'support.' The MS. has 'steok' plainly written, but the meaning of it is very doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Torn away. Probably Scotland.



For that I assure myself my Lord Admiral hath advertised at large both what hath past and also what is meet now to do, and his Lordship departed for Dover before my coming to an anchor, I leave to write farther, desiring of God [to] bless our gracious Sovereign, as he hath [done, and] give us all grace to live in his service. Aboard her Majesty's good ship the Revenge, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's most ready to be commanded,  
but now half sleeping,  
FRA. DRAKE.

*August 8.—DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 48.—Holograph. Addressed. Seal : the arms granted in 1581 (a fess wavy between two stars), with the old family crest, an eagle displayed.<sup>1</sup>]

Right Honourable :—This gentleman, Mr. Oseley,<sup>2</sup> hath carried himself most honestly ; and withal his advertisements of the King of Spain's army hath not done us little pleasure. His wants and some business hath procured him leave, but yet so as if there happen any service, he is presently to return.

I have not in my former letter touched whether it be meet or no for her Majesty to continue her forces, for that some haply will say winter cometh on apace. My poor opinion is, that I dare not advise her Majesty to hazard a kingdom with the saving a little charge. The Prince of Parma is very,<sup>3</sup> and will not let to send daily to the Duke of Sidonia, if he may find him. Thus in haste I humbly take my leave, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's faithfully,  
FRA. DRAKE.

<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that Drake ever used the crest granted in 1581, which has been used by the later representatives of his family.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> A word omitted.

*August 8.—HENRY WHYTE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 43.—Signed. Addressed.]

My duty most humbly remembered :—If it seem unto your Honour that I have been slack in this duty, impute it, I beseech you, to the long sickness and indisposition that haunted me. When we heard of the arrival of the Spanish forces by sea upon the coast, weak as I was, I embarked<sup>1</sup> myself to wait upon my Lord Admiral, who with all diligence addressed himself to go meet them ; which the second day after he put from Plymouth he did.

The majesty of the enemy's fleet, the good order they held, and the private consideration of our own wants did cause, in mine opinion, our first onset to be more coldly done than became the value of our nation and the credit of the English navy ; yet we put them to leeward, kept the weather<sup>2</sup> of them, and distressed two of their best ships, whereof Don Pedro's was one. After that, our fleet increased daily ; and as men and ammunition came, we plied them every day with more courage than other, until they came to an anchor before Calais, as your Honour may have heard. There it was devised to put them from their anchor, and seven ships were allotted to the fire to perform the enterprise ; among the rest, the ship I had in charge, the Bark Talbot, was one ; so that now I rest like one that had his house burnt, and one of these days I must come to your Honour for a commission to go a-begging.

Sunday, the 28th of July, at night, about one of the clock,<sup>3</sup> the enterprise was undertaken, which took good effect, though not so good as was ex-

<sup>1</sup> MS. imbarcked.

<sup>2</sup> The wind, the weather gage.

<sup>3</sup> More correctly, then, Monday morning, the 29th of July.

pected ; for it drove<sup>1</sup> two of their galleasses to be foul one of the other, so that the one plucked away the other's rudder, which afterwards drove<sup>1</sup> into Calais haven aground upon the sands. The next morning, by the dawning, we found all the fleet put from their anchors, with the loss, by report of some of them that were afterwards taken, of 100 or 120 anchors and cables. Part of our fleet made haste to overtake the enemy ; my Lord Admiral, with another part, lingered a space, to see what would become of those he sent to attempt the galleon. Of their strength I say nothing, because I persuade myself your Honour is already sufficiently informed of it. As soon as we that pursued the fleet were come up within musket shot of them, the fight began very hotly. Myself was aboard the *Mary Rose* of the Queen's, with Captain Fenton, whose value for that day's service deserved praise. We had not fought above three hours but my Lord Admiral with the rest of the fleet came up, and gave a very fresh onset, which continued amongst us some six hours more ; and truly, sir, if we had shot and powder sufficient to have given them two such heats more, we had utterly distressed them.

The next day it was decreed the Narrow Seas' fleet should go back ; and my Lord Admiral with the rest pursued the enemy, that fled before us with all the sail they could make, until he had brought them up well nigh as high as Berwick, having weakened their fleet, first and last, to our judgment of about twenty sail ; so there rested of them whole, when we parted, to the number of four-score sail, and all at liberty, if wind and weather hinder not, to practise in Scotland and attempt Ireland, if so they resolve not to return again this way, if weather serve as now it doth.

<sup>1</sup> MS. dryve.



By this my simple relation, your Honour may see how our parsimony at home hath bereaved us of the famousest victory that ever our navy might have had at sea. Our desire of victory is so great that we staid not to take the spoil of any of these ships we lamed ; but we understand some of them lighted to the lot of our friends in Flanders. I am now void of any charge in this service, and I would be loth to serve privately ; therefore I shall humbly beseech your Honour to have me in mind, according to your wonted goodness towards me ; for I assure your Honour, her Majesty's service hath utterly beggared me. But this comfort I have : her Highness, with your Honour's furtherance, may easily remedy my grief. This, craving pardon for my tedious troubling of your Honour, I shall humbly beseech Almighty God for your Honour's prosperity. From Margate, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's most bounden, ready to obey you,  
H. WHYTE.

*Aug. 8.—SIR T. MORGAN TO LEICESTER.*

[ccxiv. 44.—Signed. Addressed.]

Right Honourable :—I am arrived here at Margate with 800 shot, musketeers, and small shot. And further I am to advertise your Honour that the Prince of Parma hath in readiness about thirty or forty thousand men, and intendeth, as we hear, this next spring tide to put out his forces for England, hoping to meet with the King's fleet ; for that he hath sent certain pilots with small pinnaces to conduct the navy.<sup>1</sup> Here is with me

<sup>1</sup> All this is mere hearsay. Parma had, in fact, but little over twenty thousand ; and, what with the Dutch fleet on the coast, and the English fleet in the North Sea, the sending out the small pinnaces seems very doubtful.

Captain Richard Wingfield and Captain Powell.  
Thus in great haste I take my leave of your Honour,  
humbly kissing your hands, and praying God to  
bless you in this honourable attempt. Margate,  
this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's at commandment,  
THO. MORGAN.

*Aug. 8.—HAWKYNS TO THE LORD ADMIRAL.*

[ccxiv. 46.—Holograph. Addressed:—For her Majesty's service.  
In the Downs, or elsewhere near Dover.]

The Queen's Ships :

The White Bear	The Swiftsure
Victory	Foresight
Nonpareil	Moon
Hope	White Lion
	Disdain

The Ships of London :

The Minion	The Edward Bonaventure
Golden Lion	Diamond of Dart-
Thomas Bonaven-	mouth
ture	Minion of Plymouth
Hercules	Jacob of Lyme
Red Lion	Bark Hawkyns
Royal Defence	Chance of Plymouth
Bark Burr	John of Barnstaple
Galleon Leicester	Acteon
Galleon Dudley	Bark Flemyng
Tiger of Plymouth	Solomon of Ald-
Bark Bonner	borough
Samaritan of Dart-	William of Leigh
mouth	Katherine
Delight	Rat

My very good Lord:—This Thursday, being the 8th of August, we came into Harwich with these ships that are above noted. We are in hand to have out the ordnance and ballast of the Hope, and so to ground her. With the next fair wind we mind, with those ships that are here, to follow your Lordship into the Downs, or where we may hear of your Lordship, and to bring all the victuallers with us. There are three of the hoys<sup>1</sup> here already with beer and bread; and the rest, being seven more, have order to come hither. We will relieve such as be in necessity, and bring away the rest with us.

The Bear hath a leak which is thought to be very low; yet my Lord<sup>2</sup> will follow your Lordship.

The Elizabeth Jonas and the Triumph drave the last stormy night, being Monday; since which time we have not heard of them. But, this fair weather, I hope your Lordship shall hear of them at the Foreland. As I write this letter more of the victuallers are come. There is 14 days' victual in them for the ships under your Lordship's charge, as I learn. And so, praying to God to send us shortly to meet with your Lordship, I humbly take my leave. From Harwich, the 8th of August, 1588.

Your honourable Lordship's most bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

[ccxiv. 45.—A copy of the foregoing sent to Sir Francis Walsyngham, signed, with autograph postscript.]

This is the copy of the letter sent to my Lord Admiral, which I send to your Honour that ye may see in what state we are, and what we pretend. The wind is now bad for us to ply to my Lord, but we will lose no time.

Your Honour's most bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

<sup>1</sup> MS. whoyes.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sheffield.



*August 8.—SIR F. DRAKE TO THE QUEEN.*

[ccxiv. 47.—Copy.]

The absence of my Lord Admiral, most gracious Sovereign, hath emboldened me to put my pen to the paper. On Friday last, upon good consideration, we left the army of Spain so far to the northwards as they could neither recover England nor Scotland. And within three days after, we were entertained with a great storm, considering the time of the year; the which storm, in many of our judgments, hath not a little annoyed the enemy's army. If the wind hinder it not, I think they are forced to Denmark; and that for divers causes. Certain it is that many of their people were sick, and not a few killed. Their ships, sails, ropes, and masts needeth great reparations, for that they had all felt of your Majesty's force. If your Majesty thought it meet, it [would not be] amiss you sent presently to Denmark to understand the truth, and to deal with their King according to your Majesty's great wisdom.

I have not written this whereby your Majesty should diminish any of your forces. Your Highness's enemies are many; yet God hath and will hear your Majesty's prayers, putting your hand to the plough for the defence of his truth, as your Majesty hath begun. God, for his Christ's sake, bless your sacred Majesty, now and ever. Written aboard your Majesty's very good ship the *Revenge*, this 8th of August, 1588.

Your Majesty's faithful vassal,

FRA. DRAKE.

*August 8.—WALSYNGHAM TO BURGHLEY.*

[B.M. Harl. MS. 6994, f. 136.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My very good Lord :—Immediately upon my arrival at the camp I met with the Earl of Cumberland, sent hither unto her Majesty from the Lord Admiral. By his Lordship's letter, whereof I send your Lordship a copy, you may perceive where he left the Spanish fleet. It is hard now to resolve what advice to give her Majesty for disarming, either by sea or by land, until it shall be known what is become of the said fleet. The Earl of Cumberland telleth me that the Lord Admiral would be this night at the Downs. And so I most humbly take my leave. At the camp, in the Lord General's tent, the 8th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,  
FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

The Commissioners landed this morning at Dover ; they write nothing touching the Duke of Parma's proceedings.

*August 8.—WALSYNGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.*

[Harl. MS. 6994, f. 138.—Holograph. Addressed.]

By the copy of the Lord Admiral's letters brought this day to the camp by the Earl of Cumberland, your Lordship may perceive what is become of the Spanish fleet. I am sorry the Lord Admiral was forced to leave the prosecution of the enemy through the wants he sustained. Our half-doings doth breed dishonour and leaveth the disease uncured. The Earl of Derby and the rest of the Commissioners

arrived this morning at Dover. The Lord Admiral cometh this night to the Downs. And so I most humbly take my leave. At the camp, the 8th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,  
FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

*Aug. 8.—PRINCE MAURICE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Addressed. French.]

Sir :—For that I have caused the confession to be taken of Don Diego Pimentel, camp-master of the Sicilian regiment, a prisoner here, whereby you will be sufficiently informed as well of the designs of the King of Spain as of that hath passed betwixt the two fleets until the time of his imprisonment, it seemeth meet to refer the advertisement of these affairs to the said confession, as also to that the States-General and those of the provinces have written to her Majesty. Only this I will tell you : that, after the opinion of the said States, I have judged it fitting to put under sure guard all the prisoners brought hither from the two enemy's ships that were taken by our men, and that I have given commandment that the said Don Diego, belonging to one of the best families in Spain, and related to the greatest noblemen in the said kingdom, shall be treated according to his rank, as also all the other gentlemen and men of quality which hath been taken with them, to the number of about 25. The common soldiers have been divided in the prisons of the towns until it shall be seen what course their fleet taketh, and what may be the success of the *sortie* that the Duke of Parma seeketh to make from Dunkirk ; thereafter to be ordered concerning them as it shall be judged fitting.



Sir, I pray you to advertise me of her Majesty's pleasure therein, and of that you shall judge convenient, to the end I may pursue the same as far as we shall be able. This, I render you my most affectionate thanks for your good favour, and pray God to give you, with good health, a happy and long life. From the Hague, this 18th of August, 1588.

Your affectionate friend to be commanded,  
MAURICE DE NASSAU.

*August 8.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE  
UNITED PROVINCES TO THE QUEEN.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Endorsed. French.]

Madam :—For that God hath shown unto us his favour by inclining the heart of your Majesty to support the cause of these United Provinces, so many years assailed and troubled in this cruel war by the unhappy designs and violence of our enemies, which hath also for a long time practised by forcible and subtle means to offend your Majesty's royal person and kingdom, we do assuredly hope and believe that the same God hath, in his goodness, given your Majesty the victory over your enemies, and, before the whole world, everlasting glory, such as is fitting to your royal virtues ; whereof, after many and great difficulties, we now behold the happy effects in the pursuit that your Majesty's army hath made of the mighty and proud forces of the King of Spain and of his allies, shattering the powers of divers princes that have leagued together against your Majesty, the defender of God's church and of this country. We praise God for these great benefits, and pray him to bestow on your Majesty perfect victory over the said common enemy, which will be no less for the advantage of these provinces than for the honour of your Majesty.

We are sorely grieved that the rebellions and mutinies that have been in this State have taken away the most ready and apparent means that was prepared for the service of your Majesty, whereby your Majesty would have been further assured of the sincerity and good will there is here towards your Majesty's service, as is most meet, besides that the States do presently furnish, which hath showed themselves willing to pay another subsidy, to the end they may strengthen and increase their fleet, so as to be able as well for the service of your Majesty as for their own defence; which your Majesty will, without doubt, be more fully advertised of the same by his Lordship, the Lord Wyllughby, your Majesty's Lieutenant in these parts. Thus we cease to trouble your Majesty, most humbly beseeching you to continue your royal favour toward this country; and, humbly kissing your Majesty's hands, we pray Almighty God to preserve your Majesty, for the good of your subjects and servants, in a happy and long life. From the Hague, this 18th day of August, 1588.

Your Majesty's most humble and most affectionate servants, the Council of State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

CHR. HUYGENS.<sup>1</sup>

*Aug. 8.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.*

[Holland, lvi.—Signed. Addressed. French.]

Sir :—We praise and glorify God exceedingly for that it hath pleased him at divers times to give

<sup>1</sup> Christian Huygens, secretary of the Council of State, born 1555, died 1624. He was father of Constantine Huygens the poet, and grandfather of Christian Huygens the mathematician and astronomer.

good success to her Majesty's navy against the common enemy ; and we are glad that her Majesty hath favourably considered of the service that hath been done by us. It were greatly to be desired that we could have seconded her with stronger forces than we have here at this time, thereby to render the victory more perfect. But the misfortunes which have befallen this State, from the extraordinary and unheard of mutinies excited amongst our soldiers, have deprived us of the means whereby these countries could have armed greater forces by sea, so as better to have testified our zeal for the service of her Majesty.

We cease not to travail with the States, moving them to grant a new and extraordinary subsidy for the strengthening and largely augmenting of our said forces by sea, as that it may be prepared for whatever may fall out, the resolution of our enemies being apparent to persecute their pretences to the uttermost ; as also, on the other part, we desire to do our duty so far as lieth with us. Wherein we find so much good will that, notwithstanding the manifold charges and contributions, we do already begin to carry out our resolve, and arm for the sea about 40 more good ships of war. Nevertheless, for that we are advertised that the Spanish army taketh a course northward, we beseech your Honours to be a mean that her Majesty may give commandment to her army not to cease to pursue and follow up the enemy, to the end they shall not be able to assure themselves and renew their enterprise.

Certain of our captains have brought into these parts some ships taken from the Spanish army, with sundry persons, which we have examined the chief of them, and have sent you, with these, copies of their confessions, so as it may serve, with other advertisements that your Lordships have, to make



known the pretences of the said King of Spain against her Majesty's kingdom. In like manner we do also send the confessions of certain mariners of this country, who have been stayed in Spain by the space of two years, and constrained to serve in the army of the King, but have now fled away from the army and yielded themselves here.

On the other hand, your Lordships will also see how sure and certain it is that the Duke of Parma, understanding of the ill success of his enterprise against England, will, in his fury, turn the great power that he has brought together in Flanders against this country, to revenge himself, if it may be, for the loss and shame his master and he have had at the sea. We beseech your Lordships to take order that the forces of her Majesty in these parts shall be sufficient in number and in quality, as well of footmen as of horsemen, whereof, at this present, there is great lack ; and, meantime, to continue your favours to this afflicted country in the great need that now is ; assuring your Lordships that, on our part, we shall not fail to do to the uttermost of our ability for the service of her Majesty and for our own safety.

The States-General do now consider of sending certain deputies to her Majesty, which will more fully inform your Honours of everything. This, commending ourselves to your good favour, we pray God to have your Lordships in his holy keeping. From the Hague, the 18th day of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' very humble and very affectionate servants, the Council of State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

CHR. HUYGENS.

*August 2.—DEPOSITIONS OF SPANISH PRISONERS.*

[Holland, lvi.—Endorsed. Spanish, French, and English. The translations, the English especially, are very inaccurate; the errors are noted by a reference to the Spanish.]

12 Augusti, stilo novo, 1588.

Don Diego Pimentel,<sup>1</sup> born at Valladolid, general of the forces of Sicily,<sup>2</sup> brother<sup>3</sup> to the Marquis of Tavera, of the age of 29 years, saith:—

He is of the order of St. Jacques;<sup>4</sup> and saith, moreover, that the regiment of Sicily is of 32 companies, whereof the fifteen of foot old soldiers;<sup>5</sup> that the said 32 companies were all in this army; that they parted from the river of Lisbon the 30th of May with 145 sail, whereof 110 were men-of-war and 90 of them very great; that the ship wherein he came is a galleass<sup>6</sup> of Portugal, of 700 tons.

He saith they came out with intention to join with the Duke<sup>7</sup> of Parma, and, with him, to cast themselves<sup>8</sup> upon England, and there to take some strong place, and afterwards to set all his forces on land. He saith that at the entry of the Channel one of their greatest ships lost itself and was taken, the captain whereof was Don Pedro de Valdes.

He saith in this army there were 20,000 Spaniards and 12,000 mariners and others, so as every day they received allowance for 32,000 men.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of Pimentel's earlier and later history is given by Duro, i. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Maestro de campo del tercio de Sicilia*: commandant of the Sicilian regiment.

<sup>3</sup> He was the marquis's eldest son.

<sup>4</sup> *Santiago*.

<sup>5</sup> *Las quinze de infanteria vieja*: fifteen of which were veteran infantry.

<sup>6</sup> *Galeon*.

<sup>7</sup> *Príncipe*.

<sup>8</sup> *Se metter en*.

<sup>9</sup> *Davan 32 mil raciones*.

He saith the flower of the nobility of Spain was there, as of dukes, counts, marquises, barons, and gentlemen. Moreover, that the general, the Duke Medina, will not depart from hence till he have accomplished the charge which the King hath given him.

He saith the army was provided of all sorts for six months when they set forth out of Lisbon, and that his ship did carry 32 pieces of brass. He saith that when they counted the English fleet the last time, they found it of 130 sail.

He saith that, two months before they came from Lisbon the speech did run that the Queen of England was to make a peace with the Duke of Parma, and that they then had hope it would be made.

He saith that on Monday they strayed from the army, and that they left it complete and full, and that they had lost but three ships. He saith that the King spendeth in this army daily 12,000 pistolets, and that in the fleet there are 16 millions of ducats.<sup>1</sup>

Don Juan de Velasquez, of the age of 20 years, born at Valladolid, in a certain village called Primes. Roa, the father of the Count of Cerula, is lord of the said place; and he saith he is entertained of the King.<sup>2</sup>

Martin de Avalos, of the age of 50 years, captain of one company of the said regiment, saith he hath been heretofore at Maestricht.

<sup>1</sup> *Ducados.*

<sup>2</sup> *En un lugar que se llama Roa; hermano del Conde de Cerula, señor del mismo lugar, et que era entretenido del Rey:—* in a place called Roa; brother of the . . . , and that he was in the king's pay. The error is the more curious as the French has, correctly—un village qui s'appelle Roa; frère du . . . .



Francisco Marques, captain of one company, saith he hath also been at Maestricht twelve years ago.

Alonso de Vargas is come in the company of Don Diego.

Frantz Muelenpeert, of Herenthals, of 17 years old, saith he hath been nine years in Spain, and that almost he hath forgotten all his Flemish.

William Olyckers, of Luxemburg, of 20 years old, saith he hath also been there about nine years.

Don Diego saith that in his ship were three companies, to the number of 280 soldiers, and that in all there were 60 mariners. He saith they had been at Lisbon with the said army eleven months.

This ship was taken the 10th of August by Sir Peter Van der Does.<sup>1</sup>

*Aug. 1.—DEPOSITION OF TWO DUTCH  
SAILORS WHO WERE IN THE ARMADA.*

[Hist. MSS. Commission. Cecil Papers, iii. 343. Printed.  
French.]

[As this deposition has recently been printed in full, it is unnecessary to repeat here the statistics and details, which are, for the most part, wildly inaccurate. Their blunders, however, seem the natural exaggerations of ignorant men, rather than wilful lying, while some of their statements as to matters which came under their own observation appear to be true, and are in conformity with those of the Spanish State Papers edited by Captain Duro.

<sup>2</sup> *Par le Sieur Pierre.* This is an addition in the French and English copies; it is not in the Spanish. Pieter van der Does, vice-admiral of the fleet of Holland, was born in 1562, at Leyden, to which town he now presented the flag of the San Mateo. He died at St. Thomas, in the West Indies, in 1599.

When they say that the greatest ships had 1,200 or 1,300 men on board, or that there were in the fleet 300 priests or monks, they are talking of things of which they had no knowledge; when they say that the Spanish ships sailed badly, that the English ships sailed better, easily took and kept the weather-gage, and fired three shot for one of the Spaniards, they are speaking of facts within the knowledge of every seaman in the fleet. So also when they say that :—

As they departed from Lisbon the fleet consisted of about 130 ships, great and small: about 40 of these were small; about 70 were men-of-war, each of which might have, at a guess, 30 or 40 pieces of brass ordnance. Except the galleys, few of them had cannons.<sup>1</sup> Some of the ships had only 10, 12, 15, or 18 pieces of ordnance. There were about 10,000 old soldiers; the rest were vine-growers, shepherds, and the like.]

*August 3.—REPORT OF DESERTERS.*

[Holland, lvi.—Endorsed. Englished.]

The substance of certain mariners' report<sup>2</sup> touching the Spanish fleet, August 1588.

Certain mariners of this country,<sup>3</sup> to the number of 14, which have been in the Spanish fleet ever since they first put to sea, and are now fled away from them,<sup>4</sup> having made sails for their cockboat with their shirts, do report and say :—That all the fleet, being 150 sail, did set forth out of Lisbon the

<sup>1</sup> Sc. 40- to 60-pounders.

<sup>2</sup> This report seems of a totally different character from the foregoing. It is a mass of unblushing falsehood; lies told apparently for the sake of lying. At the time, however, it presumably was accepted as true.

<sup>3</sup> Holland.

<sup>4</sup> The rascals took care not to fly till the fortune of war had declared against the Spaniards.

30th May, and, coming near England,<sup>1</sup> were driven back again by contrary winds. That in all the whole number of them was but 25 thousand men, whereof 10,000 good soldiers, the rest common men. That they were victualled for three months, and for any great sickness, there was none as it was reported; neither did they land any more sick persons at the Groyne than 300, from whence they put to sea the 22nd of July *stilo vetere*,<sup>2</sup> and came to the Land's End by the 28th of the same; and till they came over against Plymouth they met with no man, where 40 of her Majesty's ships did skirmish with them, and one galleass was taken, another set on fire by reason the captain falling into a rage with the gunner and threatening to kill him if he shot no righter. The gunner cast fire into the powder barrels and threw himself overboard. In this ship, they say, was the treasure and five ensigns of Spaniards. After this again, at Portland and the Isle of Wight, her Majesty's navy set upon them, but no great hurt done; but between Calais and the Blackness most furiously,<sup>3</sup> where a great galleass was taken, and three other great ships, with 1,000 men apiece, sunk downright about the Goodwins,<sup>3</sup> besides another Italian ship, which they take to be sunk also, because they made signs for help, but none made towards them. That there about Calais they were forced to cut their cables, by the ships of fire which came upon them out of her Majesty's fleet, and so from thence fled away with all speed. That they were driven thus above Dunkirk, and there about Blankenberg one of their great ships was grounded on the Wielings, and taken by them of Flushing, wherein were 800 Spaniards, of whom 180 are come

<sup>1</sup> A wilful lie; they could not help knowing that the fleet did nothing of the sort.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS.; but, in fact, it was *stilo novo*.

<sup>3</sup> Quite false.



to Rotterdam, the rest cast overboard. That before their fight about Calais, which was on the Sunday,<sup>1</sup> the Duke of Parma sent them word he would assist them the next day;<sup>2</sup> but, for that he kept not promise, they generally cry out against him. That on the Saturday he did what he could to embark<sup>3</sup> his men, but it would not be, notwithstanding that with his own hands he did kill some soldiers and captains. That in all they had not above 300 horse and some mules for carriage of their field ordnance. That generally the Englishmen have greatly endamaged them with ordnance, and that in the fleet they did see, through the portholes, an Italian ship all full of blood, which yet maintained the fight in her rank three hours after. That one of her Majesty's ships valiantly passed through them to charge the Admiral, who fled away, and—as they say—doth seem to be wonderfully dismayed and discouraged. That when they left them and fled away, they were as high as Walcheren, yet about 100 sail, but uncertain what course to take, or where to turn in for relief. For into Spain they dare not return, because at their coming out they were all threatened hanging if they conquered not England;<sup>4</sup> and that they had brought great store of halters to hang up all Englishmen;<sup>4</sup> but they think they will round about Scotland. That her Majesty's navy followed them always hard, and drove them like a flock of sheep, but durst not aboard them, because they are so high built, so as 40 of ours were troubled to take one of their greatest armados<sup>5</sup> at the last

<sup>1</sup> The fight off Gravelines, which was the only one east of the Isle of Wight, was on the Monday.

<sup>2</sup> It might be so reported in the fleet, but could not possibly be known. In fact, no such message was sent.

<sup>3</sup> MS. imbarcque.

<sup>4</sup> More lies.

<sup>5</sup> They did not take one; but of that these fellows might be ignorant.

fight on Monday. That—as they think—they should have landed about the Isle of Wight. That three days and three nights after they came upon the coast of England they did hull without sails,<sup>1</sup> minding to come to Dunkirk upon the spring tides. That they have great need of mariners and especially of pilots, for that ship which came on ground upon the Wielings had but one pilot, and he was of Flushing. That when they set forth out of Lisbon there were certain galleasses in their company, but they came not with them from the Groyne.<sup>2</sup> That a great Brittany ship was also taken or sunk by the English.<sup>2</sup> In sum, they confess the Duke Medina to be wonderfully amazed, and to stagger which way he may turn himself. That there were a great number of the hidalgos of Spain in their army, and that now, their chief bulwarks and armados being discomfited, they may easily be overthrown, if they be followed as they should be.

The ship whose prisoners are brought to Rotterdam was taken between Dunkirk and Ostend, and had been shot through 350 times. Being grounded, five ships of this country took them to mercy. Another was also taken by seven of this country's fleet between Calais and Dunkirk. The names of certain prisoners of account taken in the former ship are these:—Don Diego de Pimentel, brother of the Marquis de Tavera, camp-master of the tercio of Sicily; Don Juan de Velasco, brother of the Conde de Siruela; Captain Martin de Avalos; Captain Marquis Alonso de Vargas.

In the one ship were 34 pieces of brass, and in the other 63.

<sup>1</sup> A very wilful lie.

<sup>2</sup> There were four galleasses, and they all came as far as Calais. There were four galleys, and they all sailed from Corunna with the fleet. There was no Brittany ship in the armada.

August 3.—This morning I understand, the Duke of Parma attempting to break out, two of his men-of-war are taken by the fleet lying before Dunkirk, and the rest driven in again. It is said, moreover, that 17 sail of the Spaniards are carried into England, and that still her Majesty's navy follow and pursue them.

*August 9.—WALSYNGHAM TO BURGHLEY.*

[Harl. MS. 6994, f. 142.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My very good Lord:—To the end that her Majesty might grow to some full resolution what forces were meet to be kept both by sea and by land, I moved her to send for my Lord Admiral, and to appoint both his Lordship and the Lord Steward to be at the court on Sunday next, at St. James's, there to confer with the rest of her Council what were fit to be done therein; whereunto her Majesty assented. I wrote to my Lord Admiral yesternight, to advertise how many ships he thought meet to be entertained in pay, and that the lesser ships that were not thought serviceable might be discharged. At his repair to the court his Lordship may be dealt withal therein.

For the sending of some money to the fleet for the relief of the decayed men, I think the same may be deferred until her Majesty's return. Touching your Lordship's opinion for the sending of four ships well appointed to follow the Spanish fleet, I think, if it had been thought of in time, they might have been very well employed, but I fear it will be now too late.

This day, at noon, her Majesty, dining with the Lord Steward in his tent at the camp, had advertisement sent unto her from Sir Thomas Morgan, who



is arrived at Margate with the 1,000 shot, that the Duke of Parma was determined this spring tide to come out, and that he looked that by that time the Spanish fleet would be returned, according to an agreement between him and the Duke of Medina. But this matter, though it were effectually apprehended at the first, yet her Majesty doth not so much account of it as that it will work any stay here, as was determined upon. A conceit her Majesty had that in honour she could not return, in case there were any likelihood that the enemy would attempt anything. Thus your Lordship seeth that this place breedeth courage. I fear now more the hand of God, in respect of unseasonableness of the weather, than the enemy;<sup>1</sup> and so I most humbly take my leave. At the court, in the camp, the 9th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

*August 9.—WALSYNGHAM TO BURGHLEY.*

[Harl. MS. 6994, f. 140.—Holograph. Addressed. Another letter of the same date, from Gravesend, enclosing letters from Henry Kyllgrew, on the condition of the army and the Low Countries, and the want of money, which may, perhaps, be obtained from the Merchant Adventurers. The postscript is:—]

The Flushingers were forced to retire from Dunkirk the last storm, and the gap left open being not as yet retrieved. But I hope that through<sup>2</sup> the Lord Admiral's care they will be stopped in their passage. Sir W. Russell doth put me in hope that there will be some powder sent hither from Amster-

<sup>1</sup> Of course he knew that Morgan's 'advertisement' was mere garrison gossip, and that the Duke of Medina had left much too hurriedly to have come to any agreement with Parma about his return.

<sup>2</sup> MS. thorowghe.

dam, for in Zealand there is none to be had. The 1,000 shot under the conduct of Sir Thomas Morgan are arrived, which may be made part of the 6,000 footmen. It were not wisdom, until we see what will become of the Spanish fleet, to disarm too fast, seeing her Majesty is to fight for a kingdom. It were meet that the governor<sup>1</sup> of the merchant adventurers were sent to Stade, to take some money.

*August 9.—BURGHLEY TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 54.—Holograph. Addressed :—For her Majesty's affairs.  
At the camp at Tilbury. At Tilbury or Gravesend, W. Burghley.  
Seal : the Burghley crest, a garb supported by two lions.]

Sir :—Both by the copy of the Lord Admiral's letter which you sent me, dated athwart Harwich, and by another to myself from my Lord Admiral, written yesterday at Sandwich, I perceive the cause of his Lordship's return with the navy, and the doubtful course of the Spaniards, whether about Scotland or to Denmark. What shall now be determined by her Majesty I cannot judge, yet I mind to provide some money, in readiness to be carried down to the seaside, to relieve the decayed men for a time. And I think Sir John Hawkyns will either come, or send to let us know what money were needful, though I will provide some 8,000*l.* or 9,000*l.* ; yet I will not send it from London before I shall hear from you what you or her Majesty shall think meet. My Lord spake with Quarles at Sandwich, who telling him that the provision of victual was for 7 or 8,000 men, his Lordship saith they are near 10,000 ; but how that number is composed, I know not. The 15 sail of victuallers are at Harwich, as my Lord of Cumberland saith. More is making

<sup>1</sup> Richard Saltonstall.

ready in London. My Lord Admiral I think will discharge all sick men, and the refuse of the small vessels; but being absent here alone, I dare not direct anything to him; presuming that, with her Majesty's liking, you there will advise him how to keep his strength only of ships of value, considering there are in the Narrow Seas, with my Lord Henry, so many small vessels.

I am not of opinion that the Spanish fleet will suddenly return from the north or the east, being weakened as they are, and knowing that our navy is returned to our coast, where they may repair their lacks, and be as strong as they were afore. And without a north or east wind the Spanish fleet cannot come back to England. I wish if they pass about Ireland, that four good ships, well manned and conducted, might follow them to their ports, where they might distress a great number of them, being weather-beaten, and where the numbers of the gallants will not continue on shipboard.

As I perceive, the powder that was sent from Dover never came to my Lord Admiral. It is in vain to write any more for advice until, from my lord Cobham, we may learn something of the Duke of Parma, who now resteth the enemy to be withstood.

Yours assured,

W. BURGHLEY.

9th Aug. 1588.

*August 9.—BURGHLEY TO TRENCHARD  
AND HAWLEY.<sup>1</sup>*

[ccxiv. 55.—Copy. Endorsed.]

After my hearty commendations:—Whereas by letters of the second of this present to my Lords of

<sup>1</sup> George Trenchard and Francis Hawley, Justices of the Peace for Dorset.



her Majesty's Privy Council, from the mayor and other of the town of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, earnest request is made that they may, for the better defence of their town and country thereabouts, be provided of some great ordnance, to remain with them to her Majesty's use ; wherein opportunity being now offered to satisfy their desire with the remain of such ordnance as [was] brought to their town in the carrack lately taken from the enemy : to wit, eight pieces of brass, four old iron minions, and two old fowlers :

These are to require you to deliver all these pieces of ordnance to the said mayor and town, by inventory indented and subscribed between them and you ; specifying in the indenture the property of the same to be her Majesty's, and to what end the same are delivered unto that town. Which inventory, I think good to be by you sent up to my Lords.

And moreover, whereas my Lords are let to understand that in the said carrack were divers other commodities, which for want of landing and looking unto may perish or take much hurt, and also certain Spaniards : for the same commodities, I pray [you], taking unto you the said mayor, and one or two other honest, skilful merchants of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, to see the same landed, and safely preserved in some convenient storehouses there ; sending up a perfect inventory to my Lords of the same, and, as near as you and the said merchants can estimate, the just value and prices of these commodities, according to their several kinds and goodness, that afterwards their Lordships may give order for the sale of the same.

And touching the persons taken in the carrack, you shall do well to commit them to safe custody until further order be given you from here ; and in the meantime, to examine whether there be any man

of quality or great account amongst them, and presently to certify hither the names of every of them.

Thus much, in the absence of her Majesty and the rest of the Lords from the city here, I have thought good to write unto you; and so commit you to God. From my house in the Strand, the 9th of August, 1588.

Your loving friend,  
W. BURGHLEY.

*August 9.—MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.*

[ccxiv. 56.—Autograph.]

9th of August, 1588.—The state of the victual-ling of the navy with the Lord Admiral and the Lord Henry. The like state for powder &c. :—

Lord Admiral.—24th of July, 1588.

Nota: the army under the Lord Admiral's charge, being 7,093, was victualled unto the 11th of August. Order and money delivered to victual them for 1 month of 28 days, to end the 7th of September, whereof was limited to be provided 14 days' victual at Portsmouth, and 14 days' at Dover.

Nota: he had for this victualling, to end the 1st of September, 6,000*l*.

Lord Henry Seymour.—27th of July.

There was order that the number 32 ships, 16 of her Majesty's ships, with 1,522 men, should be victualled from the 11th of August unto the 8th of September, for which 5,243*l*. with transport for 350*l*. was delivered to Mr. Quarles.

9th of August, 1588.

	£	s.	a.
Order to victual 7,664 men with the Lord Admiral, from the 9th of September unto the 15th there, <sup>1</sup> which is for 7 days . . . . .	1,421	4	0 <sup>2</sup>
Item, for 1,522 men with the Lord H. Seymour, for 14 days, which is from the 29th of August unto the 11th of September, being in 17 ships of her Majesty . . . . .	612	14	0 <sup>2</sup>
Item, for 784 men's victuals, being in 16 ships of the coast, for 23 days, from the 20th of August to the 11th of September . . . . .	530	16	0 <sup>2</sup>
Total from 9th of August . . . . .	2,564	14	0

Powder delivered out of the Office of the Ordnance for the seas since the 24th of July, 1588:—

25th of July.

To Portsmouth, to the Earl of Sussex for to be sent to the Lord Admiral, 5 lasts, beside 2 lasts sent to Portsmouth.

Roebuck.—27th of July.

To Dover by sea by Nich. Gorges <sup>3</sup>	5 lasts	} 17 lasts
<i>Eodem die</i> , to Dover by land by		
the Surveyor's clerk . . . . .	12 lasts	

<sup>1</sup> Thereof.

<sup>2</sup> These sums are calculated at 6*d.* per man per day, with 8*o* added to each for transport. (Shown in a formal account of these items, ccxiv. 57, 58.)

<sup>3</sup> MS. Gordy. It is impossible to say what the Roebuck had to do with it.



24th of July.

Sent to Dover to Sir Wm. Wynter,  
for the Lord Henry Seymour . 4 lasts

27th of July.

To Mr. Nich. Gorges, with the 8  
ships of the 8 merchants . 4 lasts 4 cwt.  
Total for the sea before the 28th  
of July, which was 1 day afore  
the fight<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 32 lasts

25th of July.

Sent by water to the Lord Steward 5 lasts }  
Sent by land to the Lord Steward 5 lasts } 10 lasts

8th of August.

Sent to Harwich by Wm. Vaughan,  
for the Lord Admiral . . . . . 5 lasts  
47 lasts

Powder sent to the Lord Admiral from the Lord  
Buckhurst,<sup>2</sup> and 5,000 shot.

The Queen's navy holdeth under  
the Lord Admiral . . . . . 5,775  
The Londoners, 20 ships . . . . . 1,240  
The coast men . . . . . 1,639  
On the seas with the Lord Admiral . 10,000 }  
On the seas with the Lord Henry  
Seymour . . . . . 2,300 } 12,000

<sup>1</sup> Gorges, at any rate, did not join the fleet till after its return from the north.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Sackville, created Lord Buckhurst in 1567, at this time Lord Lieutenant of Sussex. He was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1598; was created Earl of Dorset in 1604, and died in 1608.



More, there is lately sent out of the river of Thames by the merchant venturers the number of 18 sail of ships, and their numbers of men that were appointed for them were 1,150 men.

So my Lord Admiral hath in his charge of ships . . . . . 66 sail

Also my Lord Harry Seymour hath under his charge the number of 33 sail with the coast ships . . . . . 33 sail

The merchant venturers, their ships being at the seas are in number . . . . . 18 sail

So the number of all the ships with my Lord Admiral and with my Lord Henry Seymour that are under their charge are . . . 99 sail

More, the merchant venturers, their 18 sail maketh in all, with my Lord Admiral's and my Lord Henry Seymour's, the ships, 119 sail in all

The numbers of men with my Lord Admiral and my Lord Henry Seymour are in all 9,970 men.

Adding the merchant venturers their men thereunto maketh 11,120.

*August 9.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 61.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir :—After I had spoken with Mr. Quarles at Sandwich, I galloped hither to the Commissioners, to understand by them of the state of the Duke of Parma. I did understand by them that he was not in that readiness that I perceive since, by Welshe, that he is; but I do assure myself he can do no great matter except the Spanish army return to them. I do understand, by a small bark of our company that lost us in the storm, [that she] met



with 20 great hulks going, as it seemed, after the fleet. I doubt they be some victuallers that do follow them. If they can water in any of the Isles of Scotland, or in the north part of Scotland, it is very likely that they will return; for, [in] my thinking, they dare not go back with this dishonour and shame; for we have marvellously plucked them. I would think it were not amiss that her Majesty did send one, in post, to the Scottish King, that he would withstand their landing and watering; and yet I fear more his<sup>1</sup> going into Denmark, and there to be relieved, and to be helped with ships.

Sir, I hear that Colonel<sup>2</sup> Morgan is come to Margate with 800 soldiers, and I do hear it should be for our ships. If it should be so, we must have victuals provided for them before we can receive them; for the victuals that Mr. Quarles<sup>3</sup> hath provided will not serve our company above 3 weeks; for the proportion is but for 7,600 men, and we are near 10 thousand. There must be care taken for it.

Sir, I do understand for certain<sup>4</sup> that there is great preparation of shipping and men at Dieppe and at Newhaven, and that they are ready to come out. Sir, it were good that such ships as be of service, either in the Thames or elsewhere in the coast-towns, should be sent out with speed, for we must divide ourselves into parts, to prevent all danger. This is a thing cannot continue above 6 weeks, and for that time we must be strong. Some of our company have spent their mast, and some are grown with this last storm into leaks; and therefore I do assure myself a good many will not be able to sail.

There is a number of poor men of the coast

<sup>1</sup> Sc. their.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Courenell.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Quarelus.

<sup>4</sup> MS. carten.

towns—I mean the mariners—that cry out for money, and they know not where to be paid. I have given them my word and honour that either the towns shall pay them, or I will see them paid. If I had not done so, they had run<sup>1</sup> away from Plymouth by thousands. I hope there will be care had of it. Sir, money had need to come down for our whole company. Sir, I am going to Margate. In haste, fare ye well. From Canterbury, the 9th of August.

Your loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, I do not see but of necessity there must be a magazine at Dover.

*Aug. 9.—SIR THOMAS SCOTT TO LEICESTER.*

[ccxiv. 52.—Signed. Addressed :—For her Majesty's affairs.]

My especial good Lord :—Being certified this morning by Mr. Nevenson, our scoutmaster, who was aboard this last night with Sir Francis Drake at Margate, that Sir Francis did inform him that the Spanish army did intend to land at Dungeness,<sup>2</sup> near Lydd, and there to entrench themselves, and to be supplied from time to time out of France with victuals and all necessities, I have thought it very meet to certify your Lordship thereof, to the intent that I, by your Lordship's directions, may draw either the forces here, or some part thereof, towards that place when your Lordship shall think it meet.

<sup>1</sup> MS. rone.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to believe that Drake said anything of the sort. Probably he spoke of this as a place where they might possibly have intended to land, had not the 29th of July come in the way ; but Drake knew perfectly well that they had no such intention on August 8. Nevenson would seem to have misunderstood him.

The nature of the place is as followeth :—Lying between New Romney and Rye Camber ;<sup>1</sup> compassing about in manner of a half island ; good harbour for ships at all winds except one point, which I take to be some part of the north ; four miles in breadth ; very deep at the shore, whereby men may be landed without help of longboats ; this half island containeth by estimation six or seven thousand acres, all of loose beach.<sup>2</sup> The next ground adjoining to the same consisteth of 50 thousand acres of marsh, inhabited with few other than shepherds and herdsmen ; so as it is a place of all this shire farthest from aid of men, and the greatest desert.

Sir Francis Drake reporteth that the greater half of the Spanish navy is defeated, and that, so far as his judgment and skill doth serve, he left them so far beyond the farthest point of Scotland as they cannot return to do any hurt in England this summer. Nevertheless, he will not warrant it but that they may return.

Here are landed at Margate, as I am informed, six or seven hundred musketeers out of the Low Countries. We humbly pray your Lordship's direction for them, and that they may be joined to this camp here, except your Lordship have otherwise disposed them. And so, recommending your good Lordship to the protection of the Almighty, I most humbly take my leave. From the camp at Northbourne, this 9th of August, in haste, 1588.

Your Lordship's to command during life,

THOMAS SCOTT.

<sup>1</sup> 'Rye Camber' would seem here to mean, in an extended sense, the estuary of the Rother, then a considerable sheet of water. In the course of 300 years, the disposition of land and water near Rye has been very much altered.

<sup>2</sup> Shingle. The word is still in common use along the south coast.



August 9.—SIR THOMAS HENEAGE<sup>1</sup> TO  
WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxiv. 53.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir :—By the news my Lord of Cumberland brought yesterday, my Lord Admiral is like to be, with her Majesty's navy, near the North Foreland, having left the Spanish fleet for lack both of powder and meat, having not received a corn of all that was set down in paper by my Lord Treasurer, which I take to be above 30 last, and sent by us ; and they driven to such extremity for lack of meat, as it is reported (I wot not how truly) that my Lord Admiral was driven to eat beans, and some to drink their own water.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Spaniards be gone whither it please them ; to Scotland or Ireland, they may ; or else home about both, they may, with this wind. These things would<sup>3</sup> be timely considered on ; which I thought good to put you in remembrance of, because of Mr. Bodley's going.<sup>4</sup> And concerning new provisions of victual and munition to her Majesty's navy, which need be more substantially done than it hath been, I hope anon to see you. Till when and ever, the Lord Jesus bless and keep you as myself. At Sawmunds,<sup>5</sup> near the Court, this 9th of August, 1588.

Yours all assured,

T. HENEAGE.

<sup>1</sup> Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.

<sup>2</sup> My Lord of Cumberland seems to have been 'greening' them. There was no such absolute want. <sup>3</sup> Would=should.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Bodley, diplomatic agent, had just returned from a special mission to the King of France, and was now appointed Resident at the Hague, with a vote in the Council of State, an office which he held till 1596. On the accession of James I. he was knighted, and died, without issue, in 1613. He is now best known as the founder of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>5</sup> In Norden's map of Essex it is shown as 'Samons' a house

*August 10.—HOWARD TO BURGHELEY.*

[ccxiv. 66.—Signed. Addressed.]

My good Lord :—Sickness and mortality begins wonderfully to grow amongst us ; and it is a most pitiful sight to see, here at Margate, how the men, having no place to receive them into here, die in the streets. I am driven myself, of force, to come a-land, to see them bestowed in some lodging ; and the best I can get is barns and such outhouses ; and the relief is small that I can provide for them here. It would grieve any man's heart to see them that have served so valiantly to die so miserably.

The Elizabeth Jonas, which hath done as well as ever any ship did in any service, hath had a great infection in her from the beginning, so as of the 500 men which she carried out, by the time we had been in Plymouth three weeks or a month, there were dead of them 200 and above ; so as I was driven to set all the rest of her men ashore, to take out her ballast, and to make fires in her of wet broom, three or four days together ; and so hoped thereby to have cleansed her of her infection ; and thereupon got new men, very tall and able as ever I saw, and put them into her. Now the infection is broken out in greater extremity than ever it did before, and [the men] die and sicken faster than ever they did ; so as I am driven of force to send her to Chatham. We all think and judge that the infection remaineth in the pitch. Sir Roger Townshend,<sup>1</sup> of all the men he brought out with him, hath but one left alive ; and my son Southwell likewise hath many dead.

between Orsett and Horndon. It must have been pulled down soon after.

<sup>1</sup> It nowhere appears in what ship or in what capacity Townshend was serving. It might seem from this that he commanded the soldiers on board the Elizabeth Jonas. Cf. vol. i. p. 25 *n*.

It is like enough that the like infection will grow throughout the most part of our fleet ; for they have been so long at sea and have so little shift of apparel, and so [few<sup>1</sup>] places to provide them of such wants, and no money wherewith to buy it, for some have been—yea the most part—these eight months at sea. My Lord, I would think it a marvellous good way that there were a thousand pounds worth or two thousand marks worth of hose, doublets, shirts, shoes and such like, sent down ; and I think your Lordship might use therein the Controller of the Navy and Waker, Mr. Hawkyns his man, who would use all expedition for the providing and sending away of such things ; for else, in very short time I look to see most of the mariners go naked. Good my Lord, let mariners be prest and sent down as soon as may be ; and money to discharge those that be sick here ; and so, in haste, I bid your Lordship farewell. From Margate, the 10th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's most assured to command,  
C. HOWARD.

*August 10.—DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 65.—Signed, and autograph postscript.]

Most Honourable:—The army of Spain I think certainly to be put either with Norway or Denmark. There are divers causes which moveth me so to think. The first, we understand by divers prisoners which we have taken, that generally, through all their whole fleet, there was no one ship free of sick people. Secondly, their ships, masts, sails and ropes were very much decayed and spoiled by our

<sup>1</sup> The clerk has here written 'shewe,' which is nonsense. It seems a mere careless blunder.



great shot. Thirdly, at Calais, by fire, we forced them to cut many of their cables, whereby they lost many of their anchors, which of necessity they must seek to supply. Further, if they had had none of these former great causes of distress, yet the winds and storm, with the wind westerly, as it was, hath forced them thither. And I assure myself that whensoever her Majesty shall hear of their arrival in any of these coasts, that her Highness shall be advertised both of their great distress and of no small loss amongst them; for I assure your Honour, her Majesty's good ships felt much of that storm, and lost many of their boats and pinnaces, with some anchors and cables; yet were we fair by our own shore, and the wind right off the land.

Some amongst us will not let<sup>1</sup> to say that they are in Scotland. I cannot think so, for that we had no wind whereby they were able to recover any place of the mainland of Scotland; without it were some of the out isles, which are no meet places to relieve their so many great wants. Norway, or the out isles of Scotland, can relieve them but with water and a few cows, or bad beef, and some small quantity of goats and hens, which is to them as nothing. And yet these bad reliefs are to be had but in few places, and their roads<sup>2</sup> dangerous.

The only thing which is to be looked for is, that if they should go to the King of Denmark, and there have his friendship and help for all their reliefs, none can better help their wants in all these parts than he; for that he is a prince of great shipping, and can best supply his wants which now the Duke of Medina the<sup>3</sup> Sidonia standeth in need of, as great anchors, cables, masts, ropes and victuals; and what the King of Spain's hot crowns will do in

<sup>1</sup> Let = leave, cease.

<sup>2</sup> Roadsteads.

<sup>3</sup> So in MS.

cold countries for mariners and men, I leave to your good Lordship, which can best judge thereof.

We left a pinnace of her Majesty's, the Advice, and a fine caravel of my own to attend the fleet of Spain, when we left them; but what is become of them [in] that great storm, or whether they may be stayed in any other country, as they may, I know not. My poor opinion is, that it were most meet to send a good ship and some fine bark, with some very sufficient person, to deal effectually from her Majesty with the King of Denmark, as he shall find the cause to require; and to send the true report back with all speed possible, that they may be the better prevented<sup>1</sup>; for no doubt but that which they are able to do they will presently put it in execution. The winter will overtake them else in those parts. If they stay in the Sound this winter, I hope<sup>2</sup> many of the Spaniards will seek Spain by land.

The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and no doubt but, being so great a soldier as he is, that he will presently, if he may, undertake some great matter; for his rest will stand now thereupon. It is for certain that the Duke of Sidonia standeth somewhat jealous of him, and the Spaniards begin to hate him, their honour being touched so near; many of their lives spent—I assure your Honour not so little as five thousand men less than when first we saw them near Plymouth—divers of their ships sunk and taken; and they have nothing to say for themselves in excuse, but that they came to the place appointed, which was at Calais, and there stayed the Duke of Parma's coming above 24 hours, yea, and until they were fired thence.

So this is my poor conclusion. If we may recover near Dunkirk this night or to-morrow morn-

<sup>1</sup> Forestalled.

<sup>2</sup> Hope=am confident.

ing, so as their power may see us returned from the chase, and ready to encounter them if they once sally, that the next news you shall hear will be the one to mutiny against the other; which when that shall come to pass, or whether they mutiny or no, let us all, with one consent, both high and low, magnify and praise our most gracious and merciful God for his infinite and unspeakable goodness towards us; which<sup>1</sup> I protest to your good Lordships that my belief is that our most gracious Sovereign, her poor subjects, and the Church of God hath opened the heavens in divers places, and pierced the ears of our most merciful Father, unto whom, in Christ Jesu, be all honour and glory. So be it; Amen, Amen.

Written with much haste, for that we are ready to set sail to prevent the Duke of Parma this southerly wind, if it please God; for truly my poor opinion is that we should have a great eye unto him. From her Majesty's very good ship the Revenge, this 10th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's faithfully to be

commanded always,

FRA. DRAKE.

For that we were very near to set sail, I most humbly beseech your Honour to pardon my pen, for that I am forced to write the very copy of that letter which I have sent to my Lord Chancellor. Since the writing hereof, I have spoken with an Englishman which came from Dunkirk yesterday, who saith upon his life there is no fear of the fleet. Yet would I willingly see it.

Your Honour's ever,

FRA. DRAKE.

<sup>1</sup> As to which.



*August 11.—DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxiv. 70.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Most Honourable :—The sudden sending for of my very good Lord, my Lord Admiral, hath caused me to scribble<sup>1</sup> these few lines. First most humbly beseeching your Honour to deliver this letter unto her Majesty as a testification of my Lord Admiral's most honourable using of me in this action, where it hath pleased his good Lordship to accept<sup>2</sup> of that which I have sometimes spoken, and commended that little service which I was able, much better than in either of them both I was able to deserve. Wherein, if I have not performed as much as was looked for, yet I persuade myself his good Lordship will confess I have been dutiful.

Touching any other causes that either hath been done or is to be done, let me pray pardon of your Honour, for I assure your Honour that my Lord Admiral hath so sufficiently instructed himself daily, as I faithfully believe his good Lordship will thoroughly satisfy her Majesty and your Honours what is now best to be done. Thus humbly taking my leave, I beseech God to bless the work of her Majesty's hands always. Written aboard her Majesty's good ship the Revenge, at midnight, this 11th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's faithfully to be commanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

*Aug. 11.—MATHEW STARKE'S DEPOSITION.*

[ccxiv. 63-4.—Copy, in duplicate.]

A note of certain speeches spoken by Sir Martin Frobiser at Harwich, in the presence of divers persons, as followeth :—

<sup>1</sup> MS. screibell.

<sup>2</sup> MS. except.

The Lord Sheffield,  
Sir John Hawkyns;  
with others, whose names I cannot recite.

The 11th day of August, 1588, I arrived at Harwich, and delivered the letter sent by the Lord Admiral unto the Lord Sheffield, whom I found in his bed in the house of Mr. King.

First, after I had delivered my Lord's letter, the Lord Sheffield bade me depart, and so I did according to his commandment.

Then immediately he sent for me again; at which time of my return I found there Sir John Hawkyns, Sir Martin Frobiser, with divers others, who demanded of me in what surety the ships were in, and whether they were all at Margate or not.

Then Sir Martin Frobiser began some speeches as touching the service done in this action; who uttered these speeches following, saying:—Sir Fra. Drake reporteth that no man hath done any good service but he; but he shall well understand that others hath done as good service as he, and better too. He came bragging up at the first, indeed, and gave them his prow and his broadside; and then kept his luff,<sup>1</sup> and was glad that he was gone again, like a cowardly knave or traitor—I rest doubtful, but the one I will swear. Further, saith he, he hath done good service indeed, for he took Don Pedro. For after he had seen her in the evening, that she had spent her masts, then, like a coward, he kept by her all night, because he would have the spoil. He thinketh to cozen us of our shares of fifteen thousand ducats; but we will have our shares, or I will make him spend the best blood in his belly; for he hath had enough of those cozening cheats already.

<sup>1</sup> MS. lowfe.

He hath, saith he, used certain speeches of me, which I will make him eat again, or I will make him spend the best blood in his belly. Furthermore he said, he reporteth that no man hath done so good service as he. But he lieth in his teeth; for there are others that hath done as good as he, and better too.

Then he demanded of me if we did not see Don Pedro over night or no. Unto the which I answered No. Then he told me that I lied; for she was seen to all the fleet. Unto the which I answered, I would lay my head that not any one man in the ship did see her until it was morning, that we were within two or three cables length of her. Whereunto he answered, Ay, marry,<sup>1</sup> saith he, you were within two or three cables length; for you were no further off all night, but lay a-hull by her. Whereunto I answered No, for we bare a good sail all night, off and on.

Then he asked me to what end we stood off from the fleet all night; whom I answered that we had scryed<sup>2</sup> three or four hulks, and to that end we wrought so, not knowing what they were. Then said he: Sir Francis was appointed to bear a light all that night; which light we looked for, but there was no light to be seen; and in the morning, when we should have dealt with them, there was not above five or six near unto the Admiral, by reason we saw not his light.

After this and many more speeches, which I am not able to remember, the Lord Sheffield demanded of me what I was; unto the which I answered, I had been in the action with Sir Francis in the Revenge, this seven or eight months. Then he demanded of me, What art thou? a soldier? No,

<sup>1</sup> MS. I marye.

<sup>2</sup> Scryed, or, in the duplicate, escryed = descried.



and like your Honour, answered I, I am a mariner.  
Then saith he, I have no more to say unto you ; you  
may depart. By me, MATHEW STARKE.

All this written on the other side I do confess  
to be true, as it was spoken by Sir Martin Frobiser,  
and do acknowledge it in the presence of these  
parties whose names are hereunder written :—

Captain Platt ;<sup>1</sup> Captain Vaughan ;<sup>1</sup>  
Mr. Gray, master of the Ark ;  
John Gray, master of the Revenge ;  
Captain Spindelow.

Moreover, he said that Sir Francis was the cause  
of all these troubles, and in this action he showed  
himself the most coward.

By me, MATHEW STARKE.

*August 11 (?)*.<sup>2</sup>—*PETITION OF THE CAPTAIN,  
MASTER AND LIEUTENANT OF THE  
MARGARET AND JOHN OF LONDON.*

[ccxiii. 89.—Endorsed. Addressed :—To my assured Friend.]<sup>3</sup>

Whereas, Right Honourable, sundry reports  
have been spread concerning the taking of the ship  
wherein Don Pedro de Valdes was captain, and that

<sup>1</sup> Captain Platt is in Fenner's list (vol. i. p. 118), but neither he nor Vaughan had an independent command, they were probably masters of two of the great ships. Spindelow, who is also in Fenner's list, had commanded the *Thomas Drake* till she was burnt on the morning of July 29.

<sup>2</sup> Not dated ; but it evidently refers to Frobiser's claim, and must belong to about this date.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem from this address that the petition was written by Tomson and privately sent by him to Walsingham (cf. vol. i. 344 n.) to lay before the Council.

your Lordship's suppliants, John Fisher,<sup>1</sup> William Nash, and Richard Tomson, commanders of the Margaret and John of London, have been advertised that some others besides Sir Francis Drake (to whom the credit and honour of that prize doth most condignly appertain) have made challenge and enjoyed a good portion of the spoil thereof, we have thought good to set down unto your Honours, in a few articles, the service done by us and our said ship in that behalf; humbly beseeching your Lordships, that if the said prize and prisoners are thought fit to be reparted<sup>2</sup> amongst such as were actors for her apprehension, or that, in your Honours' wisdoms, it be thought expedient that the forwardness of the willing be something considered, before such as never gave any attempt for the taking of her, that in such case, it may please your Lordships to vouchsafe to peruse our allegations, containing nothing but the truth of our own action, and do most dutifully submit ourselves to such consideration as to your Lordships' wisdoms shall seem expedient; whom Almighty God long bless with health and increase of felicity.

1.—Your Lordships' suppliants, beholding upon Sunday, the 20th<sup>3</sup> of July, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon (upon which day we had our first encounter with

<sup>1</sup> Of Cley in Norfolk, a kinsman of the family which some years later gave birth to Christopher Myngs. In 1571 he commanded the Swift of Blakeney, trading to the Low Countries. Afterwards he commanded the Margaret and John of London, trading to the Mediterranean under charter to the Levant Company, or helping to burn the ships at Cadiz in 1587, and to fight the Spaniards in the Channel or off Gravelines in 1588. He brought away from the San Lorenzo a piece of plate, which is still in the possession of the family. He commanded the Centurion with Drake in 1589, was at Cadiz in 1596, and died at Salt-house in 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Divided.

<sup>3</sup> So in MS. It ought to be 21st.

the Spaniards), the opportunity that God had offered into our hands by breaking the masts of Don Pedro his ship, the which all the English navy beheld as well as we, we only, with our ship, the Margaret and John of London, as all the fleet can testify, bare romer<sup>1</sup> with the ship, being accompanied neither with ship, pinnace, or boat of all our fleet.

2.—At our approaching to the said ship, we found left by her, for her safeguard, a great galleon, a galleass and a pinnace, with order either to help her repair her masts, and so follow the Spanish army, gone before, or else to bring away the men, treasure and munition thereof, and to fire or sink the ship ; all which three, upon the sudden approach of our ship, only forsook Don Pedro, leaving him to the mercy of the sea.

3.—If that present evening we had not followed the opportunity, but delayed the same until the morning following, as others did, then had the ship been repaired and carried away ; or else the men, treasure and other things of value taken out by such as were appointed to attend on her, and so all of us frustrated of the prize. And this much hath Don Pedro himself confessed, condemning and exclaiming much upon those that were left for his comfort, in that they forsook him, upon the coming of one small ship.

4.—About 9 of the clock the same evening we came hard under the sides of the ship of Don Pedro, which, by reason of her greatness and the sea being very much grown, we could not lay aboard without spoiling our own ship. And therefore, seeing not one man shew himself, nor any light appearing in her, we imagined that most of the people had been taken out ; and to try whether any were aboard or

<sup>1</sup> Romer : the more common form is room or roome ; bare romer with=bore down to.



not, we discharged 25 or 30 muskets into her cagework, at one volley, with arrows and bullet. And presently they gave us two great shot, whereupon we let fly our broadside through her, doing them some hurt, as themselves have and can testify.

5.—After this we cast about our ship, and kept ourselves close by the Spaniard until midnight, sometime hearing a voice in Spanish calling us; but the wind being very great, and we in the weather,<sup>1</sup> the voice was carried away, that we could not well understand it, but were persuaded by our mariners, to be the voice of one swimming in the sea; whereupon we put off our ship boat with 8 oars, to seek, call, and take them up; but found nobody.

6.—About midnight, my Lord Admiral being about a league from us and lying a-hull, made sail after the whole fleet of the enemy's; which when we perceived, fearing his Lordship's displeasure if we should stay behind the fleet, we made all the sail we could, and followed my Lord to overtake him. And the next morning betimes we went aboard the Ark, and certified his Lordship in what distressed state we had left the ship our enemy; praying leave that we might be permitted to return to finish our attempt; or that his Lordship would send a pinnace to Dartmouth or Plymouth, that some shipping might be set forth to fetch her in; for that she could not possibly escape, if she were assaulted, and sought for.

7.—During this speech with my Lord Admiral, came up one Captain Cely in a pinnace, certifying his Lordship that Sir Francis Drake, staying behind the fleet all night, had taken the said ship of Don Pedro de Valdes, with 460 men in her, full of artillery, munition and some treasure. Therefore, if any do challenge or expect any recompense for

<sup>1</sup> In the weather=to windward.

service done against the said ship (except Sir Francis Drake, to whom she was wholly yielded), we hope that we cannot be in equity excluded, in that we drave away the three ships overnight, which otherwise, before the morning, might have carried all away; referring the examination of the truth unto your Honours, and the reward to your Lordships' ordering; whom the Lord long continue in health and felicity.

*August 12.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 1.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—I have received letters from Sir John Conway,<sup>1</sup> the which I send you to peruse, desiring you to return both it and Sir William Russell's letter. I sent Captain Musgrave<sup>2</sup> unto him, a very sufficient man, quick and careful. By the way he had two Dunkirkers in chase, who had the wind of him, otherwise he had had some hand of them.

This morning my Lord Admiral sent unto me, desiring very earnestly to speak with me and Sir William Wynter; and the message was no sooner delivered but there was descried almost 30 sails afar off. I sent him word I had her Majesty's pres[ent] service in hand, whereby I could not attend him; also I was directed by my Lords to have a vigilant eye to these coasts. But if my Lord himself should come into the Narrow Seas, and that Sir Francis Drake should attend as Vice-Admiral, I pray you let me be called home; for by that I find by experience, by good observation, some seers of antiquity are not the same persons they are deemed. And even so do commit you to God. In haste.

<sup>1</sup> Governor of Ostend.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 233.

From aboard the Rainbow, this 12th of August, 1588, returned to the Downs.

Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

I am earnestly desired by Sir William Russell and Sir John Conway to visit them, which—if it were not in respect of her Majesty's services for Dunkirk, of the which truly, as I have always written in many my letters, the same was never to be feared by the Duke himself, except he were supported by the Spanish or French—I would gladly see them, so as I be warranted by my Lords' directions. But this withal, we must have our whole month's victuals; whereof we have received but one fortnight, and the same in manner expired.

*August 12.—MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.*

[ccxv. 3.—Autograph. Endorsed, in Burghley's hand :—12th of August, 1588. Charge of the navy with the Lord Admiral and Lord Henry Seymour. They are pleasing counsels in company.]

To spend in time convenient is wisdom.

To continue charges without needful cause bringeth repentance.

To hold on charges without knowledge of the certainty thereof, and of means how to support them, is lack of wisdom.

Sea.—Lord Admiral :

There is no knowledge given what are the monthly charges on the seas. By conjecture, there are 12,000 men in pay, and so many victualled; which is, by the month, in wages and victuals . . . . 16,800*l*.



Nota.—In the beginning of July, when the Lord Admiral went to the West Seas,<sup>1</sup> there was in wages with him

him	3,770	} 6,590
And with Sir Francis Drake	2,820	

Afterward his Lordship and Sir Francis Drake took more ships into service, with the number of men . . . 399

Total in charge in the West Country, 4th of July . . . 6,989

In wages and victual per month, at 28s. a man . . . 9,784*l.* 16*s.*

Sea.—Lord H. Seymour :

In the charge of the Lord Henry Seymour with 16 ships were the number of men in charge . . . 1,471 men.

Item. Afterwards were brought into her Majesty's charges ships of the coasts, in number of men . . . 850 men.

Total in charge in the Narrow Seas with the Lord Harry . . . 2,321

In wages and victuals . . . 3,249*l.*

Total of all the numbers on the seas in the Queen's charge, per month 9,310 men.

Total in money . . . 13,033*l.* 16*s.*

#### *August 12.—REPORT OF VICTUALS.*

[ccxv. 5.—Endorsed :—For my Lord Treasurer. And in Burghley's hand :—James Quarles' report of victuals, delivered to me 12th of August, 1588, at St. James.]

A declaration unto your Lordship what sums of money hath been received since the 14th of July, by order of your Lordship's warrant, out of the Ex-

<sup>1</sup> Actually, he went in the end of May. See vol. i. p. 179.

chequer, for the victualling of her Majesty's navy ;  
and how the same hath employed, viz. :—

## Receipts.

	£	s.
First, Received the 14th day of July	6,000	0
Item, the 16th day of July . . .	1,854	14
Item, the 29th of July . . .	5,593	0
Sum	13,447	14

## Of the which, Payments.

To Mr. Darell, the 15th of July, for the victualling 8,000 men for one month of 28 days, to begin the 8th of August, and to end the 5th of September, as appeareth by your warrant, at 6*d.* the man per diem 6,000 0

To Richard Peter, the 16th of July, for the victualling of 1,471 men, in 16 of her Majesty's own ships with my Lord Henry Seymour, for one month of 28 days, beginning the first of August, and ending the 28th of the same, at 6*d.* the man per diem 1,179 14

To him, more, for the victualling of 850 men, in ships out of divers ports, serving at the Narrow Seas, for one month of 28 days, beginning the 24th of July, and ending the 19th day of August, at 6*d.* the man per diem 675 0

To the said Richard Peter, more, the 29th of July, for the victualling of 7,664 men, serving under the charge of my Lord Admiral, for one month, by order of your Lordship's warrant ; to begin the 12th of August, and to end the 8th of September, at 6*d.* the man per diem, with transport 5,593 0

Sum 13,447 14

It will plainly appear unto your Lordship that her Majesty's whole navy under the charge of my Lord Admiral had been victualled for 6 weeks, beginning from the first of August until the 30th of September,<sup>1</sup> if by the sudden coming of the Spanish fleet his Lordship was<sup>2</sup> enforced to take that victual which was at that time on board, and to leave the rest with Mr. Darell to be sent after; which, by Mr. Darell's certificate unto your Lordship, will appear; which victual is now at the seas with the said Mr. Darell; which being delivered, my Lord Admiral with the numbers of 7,671 men, with an increase of 7 days' victual more, which lately your Lordship hath given order for, shall be victualled from the 12th of August unto the last of September.<sup>3</sup>

*August 14.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 8.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir :—There be five pinnaces that went unto my Lord with provision of shot, powder and provision; and one at Yarmouth that went to seek my Lord Admiral, and know not where to find him. It were very good they had intelligence of my Lord Admiral here, to the end they may return, or otherwise abide your pleasure. So, having sent a perfect note of all ships, their tonnages and number of men, according to your last direction, do take my leave. From aboard the Rainbow, this 13th of August, 1588, in the small Downs, where either for lack of wind, or too much contrary winds, we abide; and yet see all

<sup>1</sup> So in MS.

<sup>2</sup> 'Not' is surely omitted. The sense clearly is, 'had not been enforced.'

<sup>3</sup> The carelessness and inaccuracy of the wording and arithmetic in an important return of this nature is very noteworthy.



passengers, and do ne'er a whit fear the Duke of Parma's coming forth.

Your assured to command,  
H. SEYMOUR.

A man of Rye, being a fisherman that came out of the North Seas, doth advertise this this morning, and that the Spaniards he judgeth to be about the Orkneys.' Upon some occasions I have sent a pinnace to Ostend and Flushing.

*August 14.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 9.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—Albeit I lie sometimes, and that very seldom, in the small Downs, yet do I take this order to send my spials abroad, as I think good, to discover news.

This day a skipper of Emden, being bound for Newhaven with pitch and tar, came aboard me, delivering me news, which himself saw, so far as he could descry, a great fleet off of Housdon<sup>1</sup> in Holland, and that great fleet did stand to the northward in his sight; and ever since the wind hath been for the most part southerly. Another, that is come from the Brill, did see no fleet at all.

For Dunkirk news, I send you Sir Thomas Scott's letter, and his advertisement from Doir, the same certified from Calais. Notwithstanding, I have sufficient forces this morning abroad along the coasts, besides a pinnace to bring me word if they should have any need of further help. It is advertised likewise that the Duke of Parma hath sent for the galleass, meaning to employ her, if she be of

<sup>1</sup> Huisduinen, near the newer and larger Helder. The church spire seems to have been a well-known landmark.

service; which if it should be so, then Monsieur Gourdan playeth on both hands, and it had been a good turn if she had been fired at the first.

Thus inferring<sup>1</sup> these and such like slight advertisements for matters rather of further charges to her Majesty than otherwise, do take my leave. From aboard the *Rainbow*, this 14th of August, in the Downs, where with one tide, upon occasion of their stirring, I can put over to them.

Your assured loving friend ever,

H. SEYMOUR.

I have taken order for Mr. Bodley, who came unto me this morning, upon a postscript from you revoking my Lords of the Council's letters, directed to my Lord Admiral, and in his absence unto me.

I shall likewise know by to-morrow morning, by these ships I sent this morning, more certain news of the Duke of Parma, if any stirring be. Besides the spring of the tides is past, which is one of my observations I had always observed.

I pray you procure us pay for our mariners, who are more than four months behind.

*August 14.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 10.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir:—I send you now more certain news of the Duke of Parma his forces of Dunkirk, of the which there is no likelihood or appearance of any issuing forth, by reason the spring is past and altogether declined. And having had further conference with one of the Flushingers sent unto me from his admiral, doth assure me that there is not above 26 vessels great and small, wishing they were twice as

<sup>1</sup> Inferring=bringing in, reporting.

many more for them to deal withal, and to have the honour of the action ; who are of strength, of themselves, 40 good sails. And now, by reason the spring is past, they do mean likewise to attend the Duke of Parma's courses over again<sup>1</sup> Sluys, where some of his flat bottom boats be, meaning to return again towards Dunkirk the next spring, and as wind and weather shall give them leave.

I do send you likewise the admiral's letter itself, which I pray you to return, both that and others, after you have taken your pleasure. I perceive by him, likewise, they take a special care to send out 50 sails of North Hollanders in the pursuit of the Spaniards, for the better guarding of their coasts ; and have restrained their fishermen that go for herrings, so as yet they will not suffer them to go to sea in those affairs,<sup>2</sup> although the state of the country dependeth upon that fishing. And even so, do commit you to God. From aboard the Rainbow, the 14th of August, 1588.

Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

*Aug. 14.*<sup>3</sup>—SEYMOUR (?) TO PRINCE MAURICE.

[Holland, lvi.—Copy. Endorsed. French.]

Sir :—To advertise you of our success since our meeting with the enemy and the great fight on Monday, being the 29th of July, you should understand that the Spaniards have lost about eight great ships, of which one is a galleass, and by my estimation, there are slain of their men from five to six thousand. My Lord the Admiral of England continueth to

<sup>1</sup> Against.

<sup>2</sup> Their business.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is dated on the 4th, but the postscript is ten days later.



follow them, keeping the advantage of the wind, and taking every occasion to fight with them. As for me, I have returned with our fleet, which will join you as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile I do not doubt that you will have an assured watch, so as the enemy cannot undertake anything to your hurt, the more as you can keep them closely shut up in Dunkirk until the wind and other occasions permit us to join our forces with yours. In my opinion, this will be much better. Thus commending myself to your good favour, I pray God to help us with his pity, and to give you, Sir, a happy and long life. In haste, this 4th of August, 1588.

*Postscript.*—Sir, it is ten days past that I have written these letters, which the wind and other chances have delayed the passage of this captain. But for that I am since advertised that the Duke of Parma<sup>2</sup> is still unwilling to draw away his forces by sea, and hath manifested an intention to advance into the country, it seems to me very necessary to have a good eye to him. Therefore I pray you to send me word from time to time so as we shall be able to make our preparations for whatsoever occasions shall offer themselves. Likewise I pray you to advertise me of the forces which he has in Dunkirk, and if his ships are ready, with their number of mariners, and if there is any way of burning his ships in the haven; for now that he hath tasted of our strength in the encounter which we have had with the Spaniards, it is meet that we should pursue them to the uttermost, if you desire to live in better peace, as the Queen of England, my Sovereign Lady, desires it, as well for you as for herself. Meanwhile,

<sup>1</sup> This could scarcely be written by anyone but Seymour.

<sup>2</sup> MS. que le Duc de Parma ne veut point encore jeter arrière ses forces par mer comme il montre ses desseins pour aller plus avant au pays.

it is not possible that he should at this time undertake any enterprise by sea, because that the spring is past; nevertheless he may send some small vessels northward, which you will easily be able to overcome.

*August 15.—HOWARD TO WINCHESTER.*

[ccxv. 20.—Copy. Endorsed.]

To the Right Honorable my very good Lord the Lord Marquis, and the rest of the Justices of Peace in the county of Dorset.

After my hearty commendations:—Whereas the Ryall of Weymouth hath served in her Majesty's service of late against the Spaniards, in defence of religion, our prince and country, for the space of one month, wherein she and her company have performed their duties very well, and that now, in reward of their good service, they look for payment and satisfaction:

These are therefore to pray your Lordship, and the rest of the justices of your shire, to cause an estimate to be first taken of the powder, shot, victuals and other charges of pay, and such like; and afterwards to cause the sum to be levied by equal contributions, as shall seem good to your Lordship and the rest, out of your shire of Dorset; and therewith to reward and satisfy the good service of the said ship and company.

And so, not doubting of your Lordship's favourable help herein, and the readiness of the rest, I bid your Lordship and the rest heartily farewell. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Ark, the 15th of August, 1588.

Your loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

## CHARGES OF THE RYALL OF WEYMOUTH.

[ccxv. 20, I.—Endorsed :—A note of the charge &c. Exhibited by Thomas Middleton.]

A note of the charges expended by the Ryall of Weymouth in her Majesty's service against the Spanish fleet, under the Right Honourable the Lord Admiral, set forth the 22nd of July, 1588, for one month :—

	£	s.	d.
First, for 9 barrels of powder .	56	0	0
Item, 1 cwt. of match . . . . .	1	5	0
for cartridges in canvas . . . . .	1	0	0
for one minion piece, broken in the fight . . . . .	6	0	0
for the hire of the ship, being of burden 160 tons, for one month . . . . .	16	0	0
for the wages of 70 men for one month. . . . .	50	0	0
for the victualling of the said 70 men, according to her Majesty's rate . . . . .	45	10	0
Sum total	175	15	0

Memorandum.—That there was one bowsprit spent, and one anchor broken, with some other spoil in the said ship, which is not charged in this account.

August 16.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxv. 21.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir :—I have taken order for Monsieur de Clermont <sup>1</sup> to pass him over safely to Flushing; also

<sup>1</sup> Clermont d'Amboise, one of the leaders of the French Protestants, and at this time on an embassy from the King of



have directed another pinnace for Boulogne, being a matter of importance which requireth haste. And as for your news of the Spaniards for being at the Frith of Moray, and that the same should not be able to receive the whole fleet, I have inquired of the most sufficient pilots in our company, that do resolve me certainly that it is a great bay, able to contain two such fleets, being in distance 10 leagues over in the bay, within where they may ride along the shore, from<sup>1</sup> the North-North-West to SW. winds; but all easterly winds, it is open and a very ill place, such as if it blows any strength they are not able to ride. And as for my Lord Admiral coming hither, I am very glad, and could have wished his Lordship here all my time of abode, for the bettering of the service. But as touching my Lord's sending out to Dunkirk, I know well they have tasted of the same cup as Mr. Bellingham's company, which I sent this other day. So, having nothing else to write, do commit you to God. From aboard the Rainbow, this 16th of August, 1588. Your assured friend to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

The merchant ships lately set out from London, under the charge of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Bellingham,<sup>2</sup> their victuals do expire on Thursday next; which, if they be further to be employed, they must be supplied; as also ourselves, of her Majesty's old company, having but 12 days, at this present, of victuals.

Navarre to solicit Elizabeth's assistance. Cf. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ii. 384.

<sup>1</sup> With the wind from &c.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Bellingham had commanded the Rainbow with Drake at Cadiz in the previous year. He was now the captain of the George Noble, and in command of the ten ships set forth by the city of London on July 29. See vol. i. p. 339.

*August 16.—SEYMOUR TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxv 22.—Holograph. Addressed. In bad condition.]

It may please your Lordships :—Whereas I received a letter from Sir Thomas Scott, and other advertisements besides, concurring with the said letter, of the Duke of Parma's sudden reinforcing his strength with present shipping to transport 40,000 men for England, albeit I could hardly be persuaded in my own conceit, as well for not having other aid than his own, as also being the last day of the spring for any coming out of large ships from Dunkirk, yet, nevertheless, I took order for Mr. Bellingham, the 13th of this month, to go presently thither with his charge of ships. Withal I sent a pinnace for advice, [and if] any service should happen, to bring me word. [Upon] which his being there, the weather being most variable (by the experience I have divers times bought dear), two of his ships was aground and himself in great danger. But, thanked be God, this morning they be come over, all somewhat out of order by the distress of weather. So as I hope your Lordships will be thoroughly resolved that those coasts are not to be stayed upon.

I am further informed upon our seas, that the Spanish fleet are in Scotland, in the Moray Frith, and that the King of Scots should be enforced to leave his country ; which if it be so, your Lordships do know it better than myself, and what is to be done herein.

As for the Duke of Parma, what with the Flushingers' good attendance on the one side and our ships on the other, as I have always written, I shall never be so happy to see him come out, but

rather fear him in other places, having [suspicion of mind] that it is not unlike he may attempt both Bergen-[op-Zoom] and Ostend at one time; so much the more because it is not unknown unto him how this country is weakened by sending over Sir Thomas Morgan [with] so many musketeers.

Lastly, I still perceive a continual recourse in transporting victuals to Calais, which is the only colour for the enemy now that the Lords<sup>1</sup> are absent from Bourbourg.

This, having overlong troubled your Lordships, I humbly take my leave. From aboard the Rainbow, this 16th of August, 1588, at anchor in Dover road.

Your Lordships' humble to command,

H. SEYMOUR.

*August 16.—THE COUNCIL TO BURGHLEY.*

[B.M. Egerton MS. 1525, f. 14.—Signed. Addressed.]

After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship:—Whereas there was a Privy Seal directed to your Lordship, bearing date the 13th of July last past, for the defraying of the charges for the victualling of those ships which were at the seas, as well under our very good Lord the Lord Admiral of England as the Lord Henry Seymour, according to such certificates as<sup>2</sup> the numbers of men that shall from time to time serve in the said navy as your Lordship shall receive either from the said Lord Admiral, the Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Wynter, knight, or from six of us, from month to month, according as there shall be occasion for the continuance of the service:—Now, forasmuch

<sup>1</sup> The commissioners for the treaty.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. As to, or of.



as it is thought most necessary that there should be a new supply of victuals to be made for the times ensuing ; viz., for 7,664 men's victuals to serve under the Lord Admiral for seven days, beginning the 9th of September next following, and ending the 15th day of the same month, the sum of one thousand three hundred forty-one pounds and four shillings, and for the transportation of the same proportion of victuals fourscore pounds ; likewise for the victuals of 1,522 men serving in her Majesty's ships under the said Lord Henry Seymour, for 14 days, beginning the 29th day of this present August, and to end the 11th of September following, the sum of five hundred thirty and two pounds 14s., and for transportation of the same fourscore pounds ; and also for 784 men's victuals serving under the said Lord Henry Seymour in sundry merchants' ships, for 23 days, to begin the 20th of this August, and to end the said 11th of September, 1588, the sum of four hundred fifty pounds 16s., and for transportation thereof fourscore pounds : These shall be to pray your Lordship, according to the said warrant, out of such her Majesty's treasure as remaineth in the receipt of the Exchequer, to pay or cause to be paid unto James Quarles, surveyor-general for the victualling of her Majesty's navy, the sums afore-said, amounting together to the sum of 2,564*l.* 14s. : Wherein these shall be sufficient warrant and discharge to your Lordship in that behalf. So we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From the Court at St. James, the 16th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

W. BURGHLEY. C. HOWARD.

H. HUNSDON. W. COBHAM. F. KNOLLYS.

T. HENEAGE.

FRA. WALSYNGHAM. JAMYS CROFT. A. POULET.

August 17.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxv. 24.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—Monsieur de Nassau was driven over at the same time when Mr. Bellingham was with his company put to the same trump, and came yesternight to Dover, and this morning followed me to the Downs with 40 sails well appointed and furnished. When I anchored he came to dinner unto me, where he found Sir Henry Palmer, Edward Wynter and John Wynter, Sir William being ill at ease in his bed. Among many conferences which he ministered of our exploits, with the banquet which the Spaniards received of her Majesty's navy between Calais and Gravelines, he said that the enterprise was so proud and so *outrecuidé* of Parma to procure all the nobility of Spain to take upon them the conquest of England, that if there had been no blow given, but only the discovery of her Majesty's great forces both by land and sea,<sup>1</sup> had been enough to have mated<sup>2</sup> them, thinking that they will be better advised another time how to take in hand the like action. And as for the Duke of Parma his forces by Dunkirk, he thinketh them not to exceed 30 sails, altogether unfurnished of mariners, which he could never procure; so in his opinion, his flat bottom boats should<sup>3</sup> never have enterprised anything upon England, but upon the present joining of both the navies, English and Spanish, where their last meeting was<sup>4</sup>; wherein God hath mightily defended

<sup>1</sup> It.

<sup>2</sup> Confounded.

<sup>3</sup> Would.

<sup>4</sup> He appears to mean, upon the joining of the fleets and the defeat of the English; but he does not say so.

us, considering the time of their anchoring nigh upon the spring tide.<sup>1</sup>

I find his service, with the Count de Nassau himself, much devoted to her Majesty ; and so much the more, for that they find her Majesty hath always dealt most favourably with them when the peace was tendered. What is further to be advertised, I refer to his letters, which he desired me to see the same conveyed. I find the man very wise, subtle<sup>2</sup> and cunning, and thereafter do trust him.

This, having this morning set a-land Monsieur de Clermont returned to Boulogne, as otherwise despatched him to Flushing, do commit you to God. In some haste, from aboard the Rainbow, this 17th of August, in the Downs, 1588.

Your assured loving friend ever,

H. SEYMOUR.

*Postscript.*—I hope my Lord Admiral will be satisfied of our experience for riding on the other coasts ; for had not Mr. Bellingham and two other ships have been aground, the Aid, and others which he sent at that time, had come to a worst reckoning, and were enforced to come away, for all they were commanded to ride there by his Lordship.

I shall be enforced to send Mr. Bellingham and his charge to-morrow hence, having not victuals for three days ; and in like sort my cousin Knyvet<sup>3</sup> two or three days after, except the same be countermanded. Our own victuals expire ten days hence ; and by that time another month be supplied, I hope her Majesty's cares and troubles will end for this year ; but I do not believe so for the rest.

<sup>1</sup> Which would have allowed the larger vessels to get out of Dunkirk if the English had been defeated.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *suttell*.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 36.



Aug. 17.—COUNT JUSTIN TO WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxv. 25.—Holograph. Addressed. French.]

Sir :—Being arrived yester evening, in the road of Dover, with forty ships of war, I had the honour to find my Lord Seymour in the same, where, when I had particularly related to him that I had heard of the designs of the Prince of Parma, he assured me that it should be very agreeable to your Honour if I were to inform you thereof by letter. For this cause, Sir, I think it my duty to make known to you that, by the report of the espials which I sent to Bruges, the Prince of Parma hath disembarked his soldiers as well at Dunkirk as at Nieuport; nevertheless, he still keepeth them together in the western parts of Flanders, with the intention, as many judge, of laying siege to Ostend, if he hath not intelligence that the Spanish fleet is like shortly to return hitherwards, which it is hard to be believed, as it was received so briskly the first time by her Majesty's fleet.

There are now at Sluys 70 or 80 flat-bottomed boats<sup>1</sup> of those that should be at Nieuport; wherefore I judge that the enemy may undertake something against the isles of Zealand; and though I left before the said haven to the number of 25 cromsters,<sup>2</sup> to impeach their coming out, yet, as the tides will not serve those of Dunkirk to come out, for the more surety I will go thither myself with all

<sup>1</sup> MS. *pleytes*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *crommesteuens*. The word, as the thing, was Dutch. It was a sort of hoy, and would seem to have been approved of, as in December four were ordered for the English navy (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxix. 60), and after that they became common. For small craft, they carried a heavy armament: eight culverins, six demi-culverins, and two sakers.

my ships, so as to fight them with more advantage, if perchance they should attempt anything against Holland or Zealand. Nevertheless I will not fail to return before Dunkirk by the next full moon to impeach their coming forth, or to meet with them if they design to put to sea. Thus I humbly kiss your Honour's hands, and beseech the Almighty to give you, Sir, good health and a long and happy life. From my ship, in the Downs, this 27th<sup>1</sup> of August, 1588.

Your very humble and affectionate servant,  
JUSTINUS DE NASSAU.

*August 18.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 27.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Plain dealing is best among friends. I will not flatter you, but you have fought more with your pen than many have in our English navy fought with their enemies; and but that your place and most necessary attendance about her Majesty cannot be spared, your valour<sup>2</sup> and deserts in such places opposite to the enemy had showed itself.

For Mr. Henry Bellingham and his company, as I wrote yesterday by my servant, his victuals will scant carry him home to London; which, if you find cause of further employment, you may use your authority. Also Mr. Thomas Knyvet's company is in the like predicament, which is like to follow, except the same be countermanded.

But as touches our martial men, whom you have always respected, let a old servant of her Majesty's, Mr. Henry Bellingham, not be forgotten in that concerneth him, to make recompense of her Ma-

<sup>1</sup> New style.

<sup>2</sup> MS. valure.

jesty's favour towards him in his suit, for the which your favourable means will be a good help ; and for further experience of Dunkirk and Gravelines coasts, it seemeth he hath been heretofore acquainted with them.

For myself, as I have not spared my body, which I thank God is able to go through thick and thin, let not the same be spared to knit up all [harass] between her Majesty and her service, so far forth as God will give us leave ; I will not say as the Duke of Parma, by <sup>1</sup> Sir John Conway's letter which I sent you—I am bound to revenge, and I will do it, asking <sup>2</sup> God no leave. I will not trouble you any further ; but if you have cause to employ me further, let all my wants be supplied, and refer the rest to God. From aboard the Rainbow, this 18th of August, 1588.

Your assured friend ever,

H. SEYMOUR.

Sir, I should do the master of my ship wrong if I should not further his careful service, being a man of substance, most valiant, and most sufficient besides concerning his charge. I would desire you to prefer him to her Majesty coat<sup>3</sup> of ordinary, for I know ne'er a man in England that I would wish sooner to have care of the prince's person, if they were driven to the seas, than him.

Spare me not while I am abroad ; for when God shall return me, I will be kin to the bear, I will be haled to the stake, before I come abroad again.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sc. as the Duke of Parma said, according to &c.

<sup>2</sup> MS. axing.

<sup>3</sup> To be one of the four masters attendant, who received annually, in addition to wages and victuals, a richly laced scarlet coat. Cf. *BM. Addl. MS.* 5752, f. 19 ; Monson's *Naval Tracts*, in Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 284, 289.

<sup>4</sup> The extreme badness of the writing of this letter, and the inconsequence of the sentences, seem to suggest that it was written late in the evening.



August 19.—SEYMOUR TO WALSINGHAM.

[ccxv. 31.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed.]

Sir:—I shall be glad to do her Majesty all the service I can which in duty I am bound, as otherwise for my country. I find my Lord Admiral doth repair to these quarters, as I gather, to this end, to seek the Spaniards; whom when he shall find, I wish him no better advantage than he had upon our last conflict with them. But I hardly doubt the meeting of them this year, and for my own part desire to be spared at home for divers respects, which hereafter I may unfold. I know I am envied, being a man not suitable with them, and therefore my actions and services shall be in vain. Besides my summer ship, always ordained for the Narrow Seas, will never be able to go through with the Northern, Irish, or Spanish seas, without great harm and spoil of our own people by sickness. I have hitherto (*invita Minerva*) maintained my honour and credit in all my services as best becometh me. I would be loth now to stand *ad arbitrium Judicis*, and thereafter do pray you to respect your good devoted friend, who hath many weighty irons of his own to look unto; and so do commit you to God. From aboard the Rainbow, the 19th of August, 1588.

Your very loving assured friend,

H. SEYMOUR.

*Postscript.*—I shall be enforced to send away my cousin Knyvet and his company to-morrow to London, because of their short victuals and other lacks, which must be supplied, if the service be any more commanded.

*August 19.—SEYMOUR TO HOWARD.*

[ccxv. 33.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed.]

My good Lord :—By the receipt of your Lordship's letter, and upon further consideration for my ship, I think it convenient to acquaint your Lordship beforehand in what sort she is, and how I was enforced, upon the discovery of our enemies, to alter her decks by cutting them and to make her fightable, so as now the time of the year is past, and the mariners of the ships do already complain of the great cold they find, and shall every day more and more sustain the like, except she be holpen and better repaired for their succour. Otherwise, in the summer time, the ship being repaired and mended as I say unto your Lordship, and those naked quarters which I find in her supplied with two pieces of ordnance more, I would not change her for many ships in the fleet.

And because your Lordship sets down the time of my Lady Sheffield's<sup>1</sup> repair to Dieppe not before the 26th of this month, and that our victualling doth expire within a day or two after, by the 28th of this month, I have made some stay of sending the Achates, to the end that Mr. Burnell, whom your Lordship appointed to come unto me, whom I do not yet see, may fulfil your pleasure therein. This, being glad to understand of your Lordship's repair to these coasts, do commit you to God. From aboard the Rainbow, the 19th of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's loving friend,  
H. SEYMOUR.

<sup>1</sup> Howard's sister Douglas, widow of the second Lord Sheffield, and wife of Sir Edward Stafford.

It would be known what shall become of Mr. Thomas Knyvet's company by to-morrow some time in the day, or otherwise I must send him away.

The men of my ship do begin to fall sick already, and did the last year die unreasonable, when Sir H. Palmer was in her, which is to be considered by your Lordship.

After I had sealed your Lordship's letter, being informed of some pilling<sup>1</sup> knaves between Beachy and the Ness,<sup>2</sup> I have despatched away the Achates, and the same to clear the coasts and to transport my Lady your sister, wishing them to prolong their victuals thereafter.

*August 19.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 34.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed.]

Sir:—I have received letters from my Lord Admiral, by the which I perceive his Lordship is to repair to these coasts; whereof I am not a little glad, and hope I may now be discharged upon the time of his Lordship's coming. For otherwise, if there be any reckoning for me to attend his Lordship northward or to the other seas, in seeking the Spaniards, whom I hardly believe we shall find, this ship is not for the purpose, except she be presently mended and repaired; for our men fall sick, by reason of the cold nights and cold mornings we find; and I fear me they will drop away far faster than they did the last year with Sir Henry Palmer, which was thick enough. Otherwise, being repaired, and supplied with such necessities as is

<sup>1</sup> To pill = to rob.

<sup>2</sup> Dungeness.



requisite for her, and which I find by experience most of her Majesty's ships have, I shall be glad to serve in her before many other ships. And even so do commit you to God. From aboard the Rainbow, the 19th of August, 1588.

Your very loving assured friend,  
H. SEYMOUR.

I am taught to find the advantages and disadvantages of my ship, for that she is naked on both sides in one of her quarters, lacking two good brass pieces.

*August 19.—SIR JOHN PERROT<sup>1</sup> TO  
WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 30.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir:—May it please you: as by chance two Irish merchants were put into this haven of Milford, that lately were at Bluet<sup>2</sup> in France, and yesterday came to my house; by whose reports it should seem certain galleys of the Spanish fleet were lost upon the coast of France, though not so many as I would there were. And inasmuch as I am glad to advertise the same, I have sent you herein the report of one of the merchants, signed with his hand; but how true I cannot warrant, but judge it to be so. I humbly take my leave. Carew,<sup>3</sup> the 19th of August, 1588.

Yours whom you may command,  
J. PERROT.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, but had been superseded in the preceding February, by Sir William Fitzwylliam.

<sup>2</sup> Blavet: on the south side of the river Blavet, where it falls into Port St. Louis.

<sup>3</sup> In Pembrokeshire.

*August 18.—NEWS OUT OF FRANCE.*

[ccxv. 30, I.—Copy. Enclosure in Sir John Perrot's letter of August 19.]

Written the 18th of August, 1588.

Nicholas Feld of Dublin, merchant, arrived at Bluet in France the first of August, and there met with a Spanish galley which was driven there by foul weather. By report of a ship that came from Newfoundland, that there was a galley lost upon the Sein, for proof, they found of the Spaniards upon the water, and took them up, and took off their clothes. More, the admiral of the galleys commanded that they would bear up with him to Bayonne de Buck<sup>1</sup>; and the pilot of one of the galleys told the captain that if he had gone for Bayonne that there was no way but death, and if he had gone with him to France he would save their lives with God's help, whereupon they did agree to go with him, and did arrive at Bluet in France, being so sore beaten with weather that they had the carpenters 10 days repairing of the galleys. Also the admiral with one galley in his company went for Bayonne, and there was lost both.<sup>2</sup> For proof, the said Nicholas spake with one of their galley slaves, which was a Frenchman of Bluet that came away from thence, which told this news.

NICHOLAS FELD.

<sup>1</sup> Boucaut, the old mouth of the Adour.

<sup>2</sup> There were four galleys in the armada when it sailed from Corunna. They all parted company in crossing the Bay of Biscay, and were driven by the fresh wind to the coast of France. One was lost at Bayonne; the other three eventually returned to Spain (Duro, i. 65 n., 123; ii. 332). Feld's story was therefore false so far as he was repeating hearsay, but very possibly he did see one of the galleys at Blavet.

*August 21.—DON PEDRO DE VALDES TO  
KING PHILIP*

[ccxv. 36.—Endorsed :—Copy of Don Pedro de Valdes' letter to the King his master. Englished.<sup>1</sup> August last, 1588, *stilo novo*.]

The 30th [*stilo novo*] of last month I acquainted your Majesty<sup>2</sup> with the proceedings of your fleet until that time ; now I will write what hath since happened unto me. The same day the Duke called to council ; and being within 10 or 12 leagues of Plymouth, where, by the report of a fisherman whom we took, he had understanding that the English fleet was at anchor,<sup>3</sup> it was resolved we should make to the mouth of the haven and set upon the enemy, if it might be done with any advantage ; or otherwise, keep our course directly to Dunkirk without losing of any time. Within two hours after, their fleet was discovered out of my ship four leagues off to leeward of ours, the haven of Plymouth remaining to windward<sup>4</sup> of us. I acquainted the Duke withal presently, desiring to know what he thought fit to be done ; wherein he neither took resolution nor made me answer, but, hoisting sail, spent all that day and night bearing but little sail, and by that means gave the enemy time to get the wind of us<sup>5</sup> by next morning, who presently set upon our rearward where Juan

<sup>1</sup> There is no copy of the original, which was most probably sent on to the King. See *post*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Of this letter there is naturally no trace in this country. It is not mentioned by Duro.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. xxxvii, and *post*, App. E.

<sup>4</sup> So in MS. In fact, it was to leeward, the wind being south-westerly.

<sup>5</sup> Though evidently, as they were running before the wind, the English would have got the wind of them still sooner if they had carried more sail.



Martinez de Recalde and I did sail with the shipping under our charge. Our ordnance played a long while on both sides, without coming to hand stroke. There was little harm done, because the fight was far off.

When we had ended, I sent a pinnace unto Juan Martinez de Recalde, to know whether he had received any harm; his answer was that his galleon had been sore beaten, and that his foremast was hurt with a great shot; praying me that I would come to relieve him, for that other-ways he should not be able to abide any new fight if it were offered the same day. Whereupon making towards him with my ship, according to his desire, it happened that another Biscayan ship of his company, lying so in the way as I could neither pass by nor bear room, on the sudden fell foul in such sort with the prow of mine as she brake her spritsail and crossyard<sup>1</sup>; by reason of which accident, and for want of sail, my ship being not able to steer readily, it happened again that, before I could repair that hurt, another ship fell foul with her likewise in the self same manner, and brake her bowsprit, halyards and forecourse. Whereupon, finding myself<sup>2</sup> in so ill case, I presently sent word thereof to the Duke, to the end he might stay for me until I had put on another forecourse, which I carried spare, and put myself<sup>2</sup> in order.

In the meanwhile I got to the fleet as well as I could; and, being to leeward of them, struck the crossyard of my foremast and the rest of my sail, to repair my hurt the better, hoping that the Duke would have done according to my request. While I was in this case, the sea did rise in such sort that

<sup>1</sup> This seems to mean the spritsail yard, but lower down it is clearly the fore yard.

<sup>2</sup> MS. meself.

my ship, having struck sail and wanting her halyard of the foremast, being withal but badly built, did work so extremely as shortly after, and before it could be remedied, her foremast brake close by the hatches,<sup>1</sup> and fell upon the mainmast, so as it was impossible to repair that hurt but in some good space of time. I did again send word thereof two several times to the Duke, and discharged three or four great pieces, to the end all the fleet might know what distress I was in, praying him either to appoint some ship or galleass to tow me ahead, or to direct me what other course I should take. Nevertheless, although he was near enough to me, and saw in what case I was, and might easily have relieved me, yet would he not do it ; but even as if we had not been your Majesty's subjects nor employed in your service, discharged a piece to call the fleet together, and followed his course, leaving me comfortless in the sight of the whole fleet, the enemy being but a quarter of a league from me ; who arrived upon the closing up of the day ; and although some ships set upon me, I resisted them, and defended myself<sup>2</sup> all that night, till the next day, hoping still that the Duke would send me some relief, and not use so great inhumanity and unthankfulness towards me ; for greater I think was never heard of among men.

The next day, finding myself in so bad case, void of all hope to be relieved, out of sight of our fleet, and beset with the enemies, and Sir Francis Drake, admiral of the enemy's fleet, bearing towards me with his ship, from whom there came a message that I should yield myself upon assurance of good usage, I went aboard him, upon his word, to treat of the conditions of our yielding, wherein the best conclusion that could be taken was the safety of our lives and courteous entertainment ; for performance

<sup>1</sup> The deck.

<sup>2</sup> MS. meself.

whereof he gave us his hand and word of a gentleman, and promised he would use us better than any others that were come to his hands, and would be a mean that the Queen should also do the like; whereupon, finding that this was our last and best remedy, I thought good to accept of his offer. The next day he brought me to see the general, by whom I was courteously received, seeming to be sorry that the Duke had used me so hardly, and confirming the same promises that Sir Francis Drake had made unto me.

After ten days space that I had been in his company, he sent me to London; and with me, the captains of footmen, Don Alonso de Çayas<sup>1</sup> of Laja, and Don Vasco de Mendoza y de Silva<sup>1</sup> of Xerez de los Cavalleros, who had charge of the companies that were levied in those places; and the Queen at his request sent us four leagues off to a gentleman's house, called Richard Drake,<sup>2</sup> that is his kinsman, where we receive the best usage and entertainment that may be. About forty of the better sort besides are bestowed in divers men's houses in London; the rest, together with the ship, were carried to Plymouth.<sup>3</sup>

I have no other matter to impart unto your Majesty until the return of Sir Francis Drake, who is yet at sea, for then there will be some resolution taken what shall become of us. These captains do humbly kiss your Majesty's feet, and we all beseech your Majesty that it will please you to remember us, and to comfort us with your princely letters in answer hereof &c. August last, 1588.

<sup>1</sup> Duro, ii. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> She was sent to Torbay and Dartmouth.



*Aug. 22.—SIR G. CAREY TO LORD HUNSDON.*

[ccxv. 37.—Signed. Addressed.]

My duty to your Lordship most humbly remembered:—It may please you to be advertised that this morning there arrived here divers mariners of this island, which came in a bark of Hampton, from Shetland<sup>1</sup>; who, upon oath, affirm that on this day fortnight, being the 8th of this present, they being come 12 leagues from Shetland, South-East, where they had been a-fishing, they descried a very great fleet of monstrous great ships, to their seeming being about 100 in number, lying just West, with both sheets aftward,<sup>2</sup> whereby their course was to run betwixt Orkneys and Fair Island; Shetland lying North and by East of Orkneys 21 leagues, and Fair Island lying 10 leagues from Orkneys, about East-North-East. Sithence which time, for 7 days together, they say they found at sea the wind most at South-East; whereby they judge the Spanish fleet could fetch no part of Scotland except some of the out isles; for themselves, lying by a wind, which a fleet will hardly do, it was 7 days before they could reach Moray Frith, which is far in the north of Scotland.

These good news of so peaceable a departure of our enemies, if before they have not been delivered, or not with so great certainty, I humbly beseech your Lordship to present them from me to her Majesty and the rest of the Lords; to whom I spare to write, in respect I hope your Lordship will acquaint them with them. Whereas also I sent a bark to see in what sort the Spanish ship that lay

<sup>1</sup> MS. Shotland, throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Aughtwarde.

at Hogge<sup>1</sup> Bay in France was to be set upon, having prepared men and shipping to have set forth to take her, what news I received from Alderney, both of that ship and otherwise, your Lordship shall also receive here enclosed.<sup>2</sup> And so, with the humble remembrance of my duty to my Lady, I humbly commit you to the tuition of the only Almighty. From the Park, this 22nd of August, 1588.

Your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient son,  
GEORGE CAREY.

*August 22.—HOWARD TO THE QUEEN.*

[ccxv. 40.—Holograph. Addressed :—To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.]

My most gracious Sovereign<sup>3</sup> :—The great goodness of your Majesty towards me that hath so little deserved, doth make me in case that I know not how to write to your Majesty how much I am bound to you for your infinite goodnesses, nor cannot be answered by any ways but with the spend of my blood and life in your Majesty's service, which I will be as ready and as willing to do as ever creature that lived was for their prince.

My most gracious Lady, with great grief I must write unto you in what state I find your fleet<sup>4</sup> in here. The infection is grown very great and in many ships, and now very dangerous; and those that come in fresh are soonest infected; they sicken the one day and die the next. It is a thing

<sup>1</sup> La Hogue. This was the Santa Ana, which had left the fleet after the fight on the 25th.

<sup>2</sup> Not now to be found.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Soferen.

<sup>4</sup> He had been summoned to the Court on the 9th, signed a Council letter at St. James's on the 16th, and arrived at Dover on the 21st.

that ever followeth such great services,<sup>1</sup> and I doubt not but with good care and God's goodness, which doth always bless your Majesty and yours, it will quench again. The course that we here think meet to be kept, both for the service as also for the safety of your Majesty's people, we have written at large unto my Lords of your Majesty's Privy Council, to inform your Majesty, and have also sent this bearer, Mr. Thomas Fenner, who is both wise and can inform your Majesty how all things standeth here. And because it requireth speed, the resolution of your Majesty, I do leave to trouble your Majesty any further, praying to the Almighty God to make your Majesty to live more happier days than ever creature that lived on the earth. From Dover, the 22nd of August.

Your Majesty's most bound, most  
faithful and obedient servant,  
C. HOWARD.

Even as I had written thus much, Mr. E. Norreys<sup>2</sup> came, whose advertisement<sup>3</sup> doth alter the case much.

*August 22.—HOWARD TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxv. 41.—Signed. Addressed.]

May it please your Lordships:—Upon my coming back to Dover the 21st of August, about three of the clock in the afternoon, I presently sent for the Lord Henry Seymour, Sir William Wynter, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkyngs, Sir Henry Palmer and Mr. Thomas Fenner, to come unto

<sup>1</sup> MS. sarvyses.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Norreys, brother of Sir John. See vol. i. p. 306 n.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, p. 142.



me, to confer with them for the present consideration of her Majesty's service ; who declared unto me the state of the fleet, which with sorrow and grief I must deliver unto your Lordships. As I left some of the ships infected at my coming up, so I do find, by their reports that have looked deeply into it, that the most part of the fleet is grievously infected, and [men] die daily, falling sick in the ships by numbers ; and that the ships of themselves be so infectious, and so corrupted, as it is thought to be a very plague ; and we find that the fresh men that we draw into our ships are infected one day and die the next,<sup>1</sup> so as many of the ships have hardly men enough to weigh their anchors ; for my Lord Thomas Howard, my Lord Sheffield, and some five or six other ships, being at Margate, and the wind ill for that road, are so weakly manned by the reason of this sickness and mortality, as they were not able to weigh their anchors to come whereas<sup>2</sup> we are.

Now, my Lords, sith the matter is of that moment for the service of her Majesty and this realm, we have entered into consideration what is fittest to be done, the extremity being so great ; the one touching the service of the realm, the other concerning the mortality and sickness ; and therefore thought this course which we here set down to be fittest to be done ; which is :—To divide our fleet into two parts ; the one to ride in the Downs, the other at Margate or Gorend<sup>3</sup> ; to bring our men, as many as conveniently we can, ashore, and there to relieve them with fresh victuals, and to supply such other their wants as we can ; and upon the hearing or discovery of the Spanish fleet, we shall be able,

<sup>1</sup> All this is quite incompatible with the sickness being dysentery, as has been very commonly alleged.

<sup>2</sup> Where.

<sup>3</sup> Gore-End.

with the help of soldiers<sup>1</sup> from the shore, for to be ready within a day for the service. And therefore, we are to pray your Lordships that Mr. Quarles may be sent down with all speed unto us, with that money that should have prepared the next victualing, therewith to provide fresh victuals upon the shore for the relieving of those men; and so we will spare these victuals which we have aboard.

My Lords, we do not see, amongst us all, by what other means to continue this service; for the loss of mariners will be so great as neither the realm shall be able to help it, and it will be greater offence<sup>2</sup> unto us than the enemy was able to lay upon us; and will be in very short time answerable to their loss, besides the unfurnishing of the realm of such needful and most necessary men in a commonwealth. I know your Lordships will acquaint her Majesty with this great cause, which I leave unto your Lordships' honourable wisdoms to consider of.

My Lords, I must deliver unto your Lordships the great discontentments of men here, which I and the rest do perceive to be amongst them, who well hoped, after this so good service, to have received their whole pay, and finding it to come but this scanty unto them, it breeds a marvellous alteration amongst them; and therefore I do not see but, of present necessity, there must be order sent down for the payment of them unto the 25th of August; whereof I leave Sir John Hawkyns to certify the Lord Treasurer in more particular from himself.

The Roebuck is not yet come to the fleet, but, as I understand, she is employed by my Lord of Huntingdon<sup>3</sup> in the north service, whereby we are disappointed of the powder in her. And so I take

<sup>1</sup> MS. souldyours.

<sup>2</sup> Offence = injury.

<sup>3</sup> President of the Council of the North.

my leave of your Lordships. From Dover, the 22nd of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' most assured to command,  
C. HOWARD.

*August 22.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 42.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir:—Being about to write unto you of the mortality and sickness in our fleet, and divers other matters, I received intelligence by this gentleman, Sir Edward Norreys, of the return of the Spanish fleet. Wherefore, neglecting all things else, I bend myself wholly unto such things as chiefly concern the service, and refer the particular relation of the same advertisements unto himself, praying you, with all possible speed, to send down all the shipping and mariners from London that you can, and that with all speed. Besides, the Roebuck is not yet come, whereby we miss that powder and shot in her. Therefore I pray you that we may have supply of all such things, in that greatest quantity you can. And so, in greatest haste, I bid you heartily farewell. From Dover, the 22nd of August, 1588.

Your very loving friend,  
C. HOWARD.

*Post.*—Sir, there is here no provision of fire-works, nor boats, nor anything else ; for they rely so upon my Lord Cobham, that without his warrant they will do nothing ; for so Mr. Barrey sent me word.



*August 22.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 43.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed.]

Sir :—The absence of the Roebuck doth hinder us wonderfully for lack of the powder in her. Mr. Barrey is sick, and there is neither fireworks nor boats ready here against any service, if the enemy should anchor anywhere. Therefore either my Lord Cobham must come down himself, or send such as hath authority, to provide us of such necessary things for service. We want pitch and tar here. It were good that some were sent to Sandwich. I pray you send me word the whether it was not appointed that a hundred sail of ships should be kept and retained in her Majesty's service by Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Hawkyns,<sup>1</sup> when they were sent down before me. And I bid you most heartily farewell. From Dover, the 22nd of August, 1588.

Your loving and assured friend,  
C. HOWARD.

Sir, I do assure you I do not see that we are yet [arrived<sup>2</sup>] here, till they of London come again, above 60 sail great and small, and we are very ill manned. I pray let mariners be sent away with all expedition. I would my counsel had taken place, that the forces by land had been kept together till the full of the moon had been past.

<sup>1</sup> 'And Mr. Hawkyns' added in Howard's own hand.

<sup>2</sup> Conjecture.

*August 23.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 44.—Holograph. Addressed :—For her Majesty's affairs.]

Sir :—Mr. Barrey is dead, and we cannot learn where the pitch and tar is become ; nor no man now to deal for those things. There must be some <sup>1</sup> sent down from my Lord Cobham,<sup>2</sup> to take order both for that and the boats that should be occupied <sup>3</sup> if Sir E. Norreys' advertisements be true, as it is very likely. I am afraid it will be wished the forces had not been so soon dissolved.

I do assure you I doubt much that Hare's advertisement is not good ; for many hath met with them since that time that he speaketh of, that they should be passed betwixt Orkney and the Faroe Isles, 60 leagues a this side them.

Young North,<sup>4</sup> that served the Palatine, and hath been in the fleet all this time, came yesternight hither from Ipswich ; who declareth that there came one thither that came from the eastwards, and said to divers of the town that, as I take it, about the 16th of this present he saw them bear this ways, and that they were thwart of Berwick and kept the midst of the channel, and that they have but only their foresail to stem the tide, and sometime lay a-hull. If it be true, then did they detract the time to come just with the spring.

<sup>1</sup> Some person.

<sup>2</sup> Barrey was Lieutenant-Governor of Dover ; Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

<sup>3</sup> Occupied = employed, made use of. So Luke xix. 13, 'Occupy till I come,' where the Revised Version has, 'Trade ye herewith till I come.'

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry North, knighted by Leicester in 1586, younger son of Roger, second Lord North. It does not appear what ship he had been in.

Sir, God knoweth what we shall do if we have no men. Many of our ships are so weakly manned that they have not mariners to weigh their anchors. The three ships that are gone to take the Spaniard at Newhaven, and the Elizabeth Jonas, that is at Chatham, hath weakened our fleet much. Well, we must do what we can. I hope in God that he will make us strong enough for them, for all men are of good courage here. That which will be done will be betwixt to-morrow and Wednesday. None of your lieutenants be in the ship; both needed not to have gone to London. My Lord Cobham's presence would do well here. That which must be done must be with speed. So fare you well. In haste, the 23rd of August.

Your assured loving friend,  
C. HOWARD.

*August 23.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 45.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir:—According to my leisure, I recommend these few lines, to the end you may think I am not altogether forgetful of that which may concern me and my services.

As I have written unto you lately, my Lord Admiral now returned, I am subject to his orders and directions so long as he is in place; and, as I perceive, his intention is to divide his company into two parts, whereof he wished me to take the road of Margate or Gorend, and himself the Downs or Dover; which, if it be so, I desire to be called home, for I never loved to be penned or moored in roads. But so long as there is an expectation of the Spaniards to return, I would not have the



thought once to return before some better services be accomplished ; which I hardly doubt will fall out to such advantage as we had at our last bickerings.

I find my Lord and his company divided in manner to factions, which I would wish otherwise ; neither doth it appertain unto me to meddle much therein, or otherwise to advertise, so long as his Lordship is accountable for all.

I received direction from Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins for the discharge of some of our navy, by order, as it should seem, of better authority ; which were discharged, to the number of some needless vessels, and yet had made stay of Mr. Thomas Knyvet's company, according to your last direction ; and withal, by good hap, upon these last intelligences of the Spaniards, have made stay of the rest. I am hastened by the Lord Admiral to repair with him to his lodging where he hath been these two days, whereby I find myself altered from my former courses by continuing a-seaboard. And even so do commit you to God. From Dover, this 23rd of August, 1588.

Your loving friend to command,  
H. SEYMOUR.

*August 23.—DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 46.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed. In very bad condition ; much torn, and almost illegible from damp.]

Right Honourable :—The uncertainty of the reports which daily come unto us out of Calais, Dunkirk, Ostend, Flushing, from my Lord of Huntingdon, Scotland, and such ships and pinnaces which have been sent out for discovery by my Lord Admiral, make me rather to rest upon mine own

conjecture than upon any of them, they disagreeing so much as they do; the one affirming that the Duke of Sidonia, with his fleet, is coming back again, that the Duke of Parma is marching presently to embark to be conducted by him; the other affirming that it is for certain that the fleet of Spain is past without Scotland for their way homewards. Which reports are quite contrary.

My poor opinion is, that if their fleet chance to return, it is altogether for that the wind will not permit them good passage to go about the other way at this time of the year, because it is most subject to westerly winds. This wind that now bloweth, if it be not more easterly there than it is here, could hardly permit such a fleet, for that they shall feel a great wind, for to set sail to pass on the back side [of] Scotland and Ireland, which may be the cause that of necessity they must be forced this way for Spain.

Farther, my judgment [is] that the Duke of Sidonia, [with] his fleet, shall [needs] jump with fair weather, the highest of a spring, [with] good wind, and the Duke of Parma embarking all in one day. This were very meet for them; for if any one of these fail them, they shall never perform as much as they have promised to the King, their master. My reason is this. The most part of the ships of the Duke of Parma are small, and, being pestered with men of war,<sup>1</sup> must of necessity have fair weather; and—as I am credibly given to understand—they must have a spring to bring their shipping both out of Dunkirk, Nieuport, and Sluys.

Now, for the Duke of Medina his fleet, there is [no] harbour for them upon that coast, so that to stir it requireth fair weather; which, when it happen that we should find them there, he is like, God willing, to have unquiet rest. And yet, with my consent,

<sup>1</sup> Sc. soldiers.

we ought much more to have regard unto the Duke of Parma and his soldiers than to the Duke of Sidonia and his ships, for that our sands will take a strong party with us against his great ships, under water. My poor opinion is that the Duke of Parma should be vigilantly looked upon for these 20 days, although the army of Spain return not this way ; for of them I have no great doubt, although there be great cause for us all to watch carefully and defend<sup>1</sup> mightily those many and proud enemies which seek to supplant the most honourable crown of England from our most gracious Sovereign, whom God defend, as he hath most graciously done for his great mercy's sake.

I would advertise your Honour of some defects in her Majesty's army, but that my very good Lord, the Lord Admiral, hath written unto your Honour thereof at large.

This is my poor opinion of her Majesty's [army], that the [threatening] of the enemy will put a great part of [their] weakness from her Majesty's good subjects, and no doubt but they will fight valiantly. Although I [find] my Lord Admiral well affected, when fair weather [is], to go for the coast of Flanders, yet I would your Honour should animate us forward ; for there are many causes that might move us to be there more than we are, and much better for us, and better service. Thus humbly taking my leave of your Honour, I rest, desiring God to give us all grace to live in his fear, so shall we not need greatly to fear the enemy. From aboard her Majesty's very good ship the Revenge, this 23rd of August, 1588.

Your Honour's most willing to be commanded,  
FRA. DRAKE.

<sup>1</sup> Fend off, repel.



I have sent to your Honour a copy, Englished, out of a letter<sup>1</sup> sent from Don Pedro de Valdes to the [King his master], which doth deliver the time of their victualling, and of some discontentment which was between the Duke and him.

Let me humbly beseech your Honour that we may be put in mind here that it were good we saw the coast of Flanders as often as we might.<sup>2</sup> I think it one of the best services we can have in hand. It must be known I have written thus much to your Honour. God bless us all, and give us grace to fear his justice.

I crave pardon. I have no time to read that which I have caused to be written.

Your Honour's faithfully,  
FRA. DRAKE.

*August 24.—EDWARD WYNTER TO  
WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 47.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir :—Although I assure myself you are daily remembered by many others of the best sort amongst us, which write unto you of such things as happen worthy your notice, yet I thought it the least part of duty I can perform, honouring you unfeignedly, as you have ever given me cause, to acquaint you with such intelligences as this day hath for most certain been brought to my Lord Admiral; and the rather, because, in his Lordship's cabin, myself had long discourse with the party that brought them, whom,

<sup>1</sup> This must be the letter *ante*, p. 133, but there is no word of their victualling in it.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that Drake's opinion on this point is very different from that of Seymour and Wynter. Cf. vol. i. pp. 331, 333.

being a mariner, I found to be of good judgment and discretion.

This day, being the 24th of August, in the morning, he came from a village about a mile or two from Dunkirk, and came aboard my Lord Admiral about three or four in the afternoon, where this news he brings for certain.

First, that the Duke of Parma is retired in some haste with certain troops of horse from Bruges, up into Brabant, as high as Brussels, fearing, as it was thought, some sudden revolt. He hath commanded such victuals as were aboard his fleet in Dunkirk to be unshipped, which they are now performing; and already they have taken from many ships the sails from their yards. His mariners run away daily, many of whom he hath caught again and imprisoned sharply. They are all generally ill affected towards this service.

Great dissension of late grown between the Spaniards and Walloons, the Spaniards bitterly railing against the Duke of Parma, and that very publicly. Divers of them would have retired themselves into Gravelines, but none could be suffered to enter there. The Walloons, they demand for their pay very rudely. They are answered, it is brought them in the Spanish fleet, which they find now (although before they were persuaded otherwise) is retired and fearfully<sup>1</sup> fled. All such artillery as was left in the galleass driven ashore at Calais, by the consent of Mons. Gourdan, governor there, is taken out of her and sent to Dunkirk, where it now remains.

Young Norreys, that was sent after the enemy's fleet to discover which way they meant to take their course, brings certain news that he left them to the westwards of the Islands of Orkney, which is their course directly for Spain. God grant so happy and prosperous beginnings be in time so timely

<sup>1</sup> Full of fear.

prosecuted as may redound to his glory, and the honour and welfare of our country.

Now, Sir, for mine own particular, if it please you to know thus much. In hope that the Spanish fleet would ere this have returned, I have enforced myself to endure the seas, which (by reason of my late sickness) I find doth in no sort agree with me; and therefore, because I am out of all hope now to see this year any service by sea, my humblest desire is, seeing I am resolved to follow the wars, that it would vouchsafe your Honour to be mindful of me if there happen any occasion that forces either of foot or horse should be employed. To be plain, Sir, I protest unto you my two journeys, the one to the Indies,<sup>1</sup> the other to the Low Countries, have already so dearly cost me as I would be loth, upon my own charge, absolutely to enter into the like; and therefore do desire instantly to be advised by you what course to follow. I have nothing else to write but that I am ready to obey you with all duty and true inward affection in whatsoever service it shall best please you to employ me; and do beseech God to make you ever happy, and yourself, Sir, to continue me in your honourable favour. Dover, the [2]4th<sup>2</sup> of August.

Your Honour's humbly at command,

EDW. WYNTER.

*August 24.—TRENCHARD AND HAWLEY  
TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxv. 49.—Signed. Addressed.]

Our duty most humbly done &c. :—Your Lordships' letters of the 27th of the last, touching the

<sup>1</sup> With Drake in 1585, when he was captain of the *Aid*.

<sup>2</sup> The '2' is omitted in the MS. ; but see *ante*, p. 150, line 2.



Spanish carrack, we received the 29th of the same, and therein have performed your commandment in as much as in us lay, having ever sithence attended that service, as greatly delayed by reason of the far distance of the ship in the bay from this town, and by high winds. What therein we have found, and what order have taken, by these enclosed shall appear; thinking it also some part of our duties not to conceal from your Lordships the notable spoils that were made upon the ship, which came to Portland road seven days before our dealing therein; and much more had been, if happily the Lord Admiral had not sent Mr. Warner, a servant of his, before our coming, to take some care thereof; the disorder growing so far, as we could very hardly repress it ourselves, the great repair from all places being such.

The bolting<sup>1</sup> out of particularities we do refer to your Lordships' further order, for our commission reacheth not thereunto; except peradventure it may appertain to the duty of mine<sup>2</sup> office, the deputy vice-admiral. Howbeit, if the fight had not been at that instant upon the coast of Purbeck, that ship had been better and sooner looked into. We have also, by virtue of the Lord Treasurer's letters of the ninth of this present,<sup>3</sup> delivered to the mayor and others of this port such ordnance as in these indentures are specified; so that now it resteth only in your Lordships to set down your further pleasures for the disposition of what remaineth. Four other iron pieces, as minion and falcon, are left out of this indenture, as having no direction for the same.

The carrack is so great as that she cannot be brought into this haven, and therefore we do attend your Lordships' direction what shall be done with

<sup>1</sup> Bolting = sifting.

<sup>2</sup> Hawley. See vol. i. p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 86.

her. She is much<sup>1</sup> splitted, torn, and the charge will be great in keeping her here, for we are forced to keep therein ten persons continually to pump her for fear of sinking. Surely, in the stealing of her ropes and casks from her, and rotting and spoiling of sails and cables &c., the disorder was very great. It is credibly thought that there were in her 200 Venetian barrels of powder of some 120<sup>2</sup> weight apiece, and yet but 141 were sent to the Lord Admiral. This very night some inkling came unto us that a chest of great weight should be found in the forepeak of the ship the Friday before our dealing. Of what credit it may be, as yet we know not; but do determine to examine the matter, and to send for the party that hath reported it. All search hath been made sithence our coming, but no treasure can be found, and yet we have removed some part of the ballast. We find here no Spaniards of any account, but only one who calleth himself Don Melchor de Pereda,<sup>3</sup> and nine others of the common sort; two Frenchmen, four Almaines,<sup>4</sup> and one Almain woman; and since their landing here, twelve more are dead. We humbly beseech your Lordships to give some speedy direction what shall be done with them, for that they are here diseased, naked, and chargeable.

The charges necessarily disbursed for the performing and discharging of this ship, her ordnance and loading, hath been so great, and so diversely disbursed, and yet unlevied, as we cannot presently particularise the same, but do think it will extend well near to 200*l.*, as by the accounts thereof, by the

<sup>1</sup> MS. mich.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. pounds.

<sup>3</sup> No one of the name is mentioned by Duro. There are several named Paredes, but with different Christian names. The nearest to it is Melchor Perez, of the Sicilian regiment (ii. 84).

<sup>4</sup> Germans.

next messenger, shall to your Lordships particularly appear. And so we humbly take our leaves. Weymouth, this 24th of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' humbly to command,  
 GEORGE TRENCHARD.  
 FRA. HAWLEY.

*August 24.—INVENTORY OF THE SAN  
 SALVADOR.*

[ccxv. 49, I.—Endorsed :—An indenture of the munitions in the Spanish carrack brought to Weymouth.]

Goods unladen at the said port out of the great carrack, viz. :—

Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

Imprimis, of brass ordnance . . .	14
Item, of iron pieces . . .	4
„ of barrels of powder . . .	132
„ of shot : cannon, demi-cannon, and culverin . . .	2,246
„ of musket shot, firkins . . .	6
„ of harquebus-a-crock <sup>1</sup> . . .	6

Whereof sent to the Lord Admiral, by warrant from his Lordship, viz. :—

Of brass ordnance . . .	6 pieces
Item, of powder . . .	132 barrels
„ of shot : cannon, demi-cannon, and culverin . . .	2,246
„ of musket shot . . .	6 firkins
„ of harquebus-a-crock . . .	6

<sup>1</sup> Crock, akin to crutch, a stake, with a head like a boat's crutch. It was driven into the ground and so formed a rest from which the harquebus was fired. It could scarcely have been used on shipboard, in that form, but may have been modified.



And so remainining in safe custody in this place, viz. :—

Brass ordnance . . . . .	8
Iron pieces, minions, old pieces . . . . .	4
Old fowlers . . . . .	2

[ccxv. 49, II.—Endorsed :—Inventory of the goods contained in the Spanish ship brought in at Portland.]

The inventory indented of the burnt Spanish ship called Le San Salvador, Almirante de Oquendo, together with her apparel, munition, and loading, which arrived in the road of Portland the 24th of July, 1588; priced and valued the 24th day of August, 1588, by Hugh Rendoll, Bernard Major, William Pit, John Pitt, Richard Belpytt, merchants, and Roger Guyer, mariner, by virtue of their corporal oaths in that behalf taken, as followeth, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, the hull, Biscayan built, by estimation of the burden of 600 <sup>1</sup> tons, being by fire blown up and spoiled, riding in the road; having a mainmast, fore- mast, bowsprit, and mizen, with the foreyard, and shrouds for the two greater masts; two old junks, two other junks somewhat better; two anchors and cables which she rides by; four anchors more, whereof the one lies in the road of Portland; a maintopsail, a course, foretopsail, spritsail, and one other new main course; all worth by their estimation . . . . .	200	0	0
Item, 6 pipes of wine valued at . . . . .	30	0	0
„ 22 pipes of wine valued at . . . . .	55	0	0

<sup>1</sup> She appears in the Spanish lists as of 958 (Duro, ii. 63).

	£	s.	d.
Item, 25 pipes of wine valued at . . .	25	0	0
„ 67 empty casks at 3s. per piece . . .	10	0	0
„ 3 pipes beef, bad ; the cask <sup>1</sup> . . .	0	6	0
„ 1 pipe beans . . . . .	0	10	0
„ 2 barrels vinegar . . . . .	0	13	4
„ 4 pieces lead, by estimation 4 cwt., [at] 6s. 8d. . . . .	1	6	8

## Brass ordnance.

	cwt.	lbs.
2 pieces, culverin and demi-culverin . . . . .	28	66
1 cannon pedro <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	20	19
1 other of the same . . . . .	20	77
1 other of the same . . . . .	23	18
1 other of the same . . . . .	25	72
1 cannon . . . . .	52	22
1 other cannon . . . . .	53	29
	28 <sup>3</sup>	66

Sum, 8 pieces of brass, by the Spanish  
mark, 252 cwt. 2 qrs. 13 lbs.<sup>4</sup>

	£	s.	d.
The which, with their old carriages, do value at . . . . .	505	0	0
Item, 3 old carriages like the other . . .	1	0	0
„ 1 old fowler and a bad sling . . .	2	0	0
„ 4 minions of iron, with their car- riages . . . . .	13	6	8
„ 108 cannon shot of iron, one with the other at 6s. 8d. the cwt. . .	12	3	4
„ 14 cwt. match, at 9s. 4d. per cwt. .	6	13	0
„ 4 gins, as we judge, to draw ordnance . . . . .	1	6	8
Sum total	864	5	8

<sup>1</sup> Noted in margin :—‘ Mr Quarles.’<sup>2</sup> MS. petrill.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the demi-culverin in the first item.<sup>4</sup> The addition should be 252 cwt. 2 qrs. 19 lbs., at 100 lbs. to the cwt. Noted in the margin :—‘ To be brought up for the furnishing of her Majesty’s ships.’

[ccxv. 49, III.—Endorsed :—The rest of the goods valued by the Commissioners.]

The note of the rest of the munition, goods and merchandise, belonging to the burnt ship aforesaid, not valued by the praisers aforesaid, by reason it never came to their view, but esteemed by us as followeth, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, sent to the fleet the 26th of July, 1588, by a bark of Dartmouth appertaining to one Norris, at the appointment of Captain Flemyng, by direction from the Lord Admiral, before the date of your Lordships' letters dated the 27th of July, <i>anno predict.</i> , 100 Venetian barrels of powder, worth by our estimation . . . . .	500	0	0
Item, sent to the fleet in the bark aforesaid, of cannon, demi-cannon and culverin shot, of iron, 2,000 shot, worth . . . . .	200	0	0
Item, sent to the fleet at the same time, in Captain Flemyng his pin-nace, 40 Venetian barrels powder, worth . . . . .	200	0	0
Item, sent them one ton of match . . . . .	6	13	4

Delivered the last day of July, by our order, to John Somers of Lyme, by virtue of a warrant from my Lord Admiral, as followeth, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
2 cannons, with their carriages <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	200	0	0
4 culverins, with their carriages <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	270	0	0
173 cannon pedro shot, worth . . . . .	16	6	8

<sup>1</sup> Noted in margin :—‘ Letters to Sir W. Wynter to take charge.’



	£	s.	d.
99 culverin shot, worth . . . .	6	13	4
3 cross-bar shot, worth . . . .	1	0	0
8 barrels of musket shot . . . .			
6 harquebusses-a-crock, iron . . . .	3	0	0
1 barrel of powder . . . . .	5	0	0
1 Milan corslet . . . . .	0	10	0
2 little pairs of iron-bound wheels . . . .	1	6	8

*Summa totalis* 1,411 0 0

GEORGE TRENCHARD.  
FRA. HAWLEY.

*August 25.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 54.—Signed, and autograph postscript. Addressed.]

Sir:—Since I had made up my other letter, there came a Scottish gentleman in a passenger out of France unto me, and another Scottish man that hath served in the Duke of Parma his camp, which I send by this bearer, Mr. Cely, unto you, by whom you may find many things if he be well sifted. And so I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Ark, the 25th of August, 1588. Your very loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, the gentleman, I think, came out of France. You shall hear much of the poor Scottish man, if you will examine him well. I pray you let him be well used. I have sent a good many of ancients<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ensigns. These were probably the flags which were displayed at St. Paul's Cross on Sept. 8, at a sermon of thanksgiving, when 'there was openly showed eleven ensigns, being the banners taken in the Spanish navy, and particularly one streamer wherein was an image of our Lady with her Son in her arms, which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. The same banners the next day were

and banners by this bearer, Thomas Cely; but Sir, they must be returned when they have been used; they may be kept till I do come home.

*August 26.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 55.—Signed, and autograph postscript. The second postscript is in the same writing as the body of the letter. Addressed.]

Sir :—I have received your letter of the 24th of August, touching the beer that was brewed at Sandwich. Mr. Darell hath been with me here, whom I have dealt withal; and I perceive it hath been refused, and upon that there were some appointed to taste it, and so found it to be sour, and yet he that hath the delivering of it<sup>1</sup>—and so saith Mr. Darell too—that at the first it was good. But by like there was some great fault in the brewer, that within one month and less it would be sour; and I perceive by Mr. Darell that the brewer excuseth it by the want of hops. But, Sir, the mariners who have a conceit (and I think it true, and so do all the captains here) that sour drink hath been a great cause of this infection amongst us; and, Sir, for my own part I know not which way to deal with the mariners to make them rest contented with sour beer, for nothing doth displease them more. There hath been heretofore brewed for the navy, here at Dover, as good beer as was brewed in London. This service being in the Narrow Seas, and likely to continue, so long as we have to

hanged on London Bridge towards Southwark' (Nichols' *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, edit. 1823, ii. 537). They were presumably given back to Howard, in accordance with his request, but have long since disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. affirmeth.

do with the Low Countries, of necessity the victualling must be here at Dover, as it hath been in times past; for being at London, it may fall out so as it may be a great hindrance unto her Majesty's service and the realm's.

Sir, I have caused Mr. Darell to make trial of brewing here at Dover, in her Majesty's own offices at the Messendewe,<sup>1</sup> and I doubt not but it will fall out very well for the purpose. Mr. Darell makes trial to brew the sour beer which came out of the west country again, and so to mix it with other new beer, which I hope will do well.

Sir, where you write that you would have the hoys discharged of their victuals, I hope you do not doubt but that if the weather had served to have taken it in, or any hoy to come near us, but that we would have taken in some part of it. And yet, Sir, if this service should not continue, the overplus of that which shall be taken in would be spoiled. The weather hath been such here that all the victuallers have been fain to go into the haven. The small barks and pinnaces of our fleet, that likewise were in the haven, have taken in their victuals; but else, no great ship was able to take in any since I came hither, the sea hath gone so high; but it shall be done as conveniently as we may.

In the last part of your letter you do write that I should consider what ships were meet to be continued on the Narrow Seas. I do think your meaning is only for defending of our seas and keeping in of the Dunkirkers, in such sort as is to

<sup>1</sup> Maison Dieu. Originally a hospital for pilgrims, founded by Hubert de Burgh in the reign of John. At the dissolution of the monasteries and the wholesale plunder of Church property, it was converted into Government storehouses, victualling offices and brewery, and so continued till the present century, when—about 1834—it was bought by the Corporation and reconverted and restored into the Town Hall.



be continued all the winter. We have considered of it, and we think that until Michaelmas there would<sup>1</sup> some reasonable strength be continued; and after that time it may be lessened. And for that ships will grow foul and unsavoury, we have divided such ships as are most serviceable for the Narrow Seas into two parts, that the one company may be always ready when the other shall come in. I send you herein enclosed a breviae both of the ships that shall first serve, and also of the second. Sir, I pray you acquaint my Lord Treasurer herewith, and pray him to bear with me that I write not unto him; for I assure you I am so troubled with business that I have scarce leisure to write unto you at all. And so I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Ark, the 26th of August, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, It doth grieve me wonderfully to hear of my Lord Chamberlain's<sup>2</sup> sickness. I trust in the Almighty God that he shall recover. If he do, I pray let me have knowledge from you, or else I do not desire to hear anything. I know nothing, but my Lord Treasurer did write in a postscript this. I fear my Lord Chamberlain's sickness. God send him health, and that her Majesty and the realm do not lose in this time so good a servant.

*Post.*—Even as I had done this my letter, I had meant to have borne over to the other side; but it is grown so foggy upon the sudden that now I am determined to stay for fair weather.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. should.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Hunsdon, Howard's father-in-law.

[ccxv. 58.—In Howard's autograph. Much torn. Imperfect.  
Endorsed :—A note of the ships appointed to remain under  
the charge of Sir Henry Palmer and Sir Martin Frobiser for  
the guard of the Narrow Seas.]

Sir :—I do send you this, whereby you shall  
perceive what ships we do think meet to be con-  
tinued in the Narrow Seas all this winter, and in  
what manner both for the ease of the ships, as also  
the captains and mariners, for this course must be  
kept, or else it would worry all men to continue still.

These to begin, and to continue two months  
under the charge of Sir Henry Palmer :—

	Men.
The Vanguard . . . . .	[230]
Rainbow . . . . .	230
Tiger . . . . .	80
Bull . . . . .	80
Tramontana . . . . .	70
Achates . . . . .	60
Sun . . . . .	24
Moon . . . . .	40
	<hr/>
	814

These to [begin] when the [other] is ended,  
[and] be under [the] charge [of Sir] Ma. [Frobiser]:

	Men.
The Antelope . . . . .	150

[*The rest is torn away.*]

*August 26.—HAWKYNS TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxv. 56.—Signed, with an autograph postscript by Lord Howard.  
Addressed.]

Right Honourable mine especial good Lord :—  
This day my Lord Admiral called Sir William  
Wynter and me aboard his Lordship's ship, and

showed unto us your Lordship's letter of the 24th of August, whereby your Lordship required to be advertised what numbers of mariners and soldiers there were in the ships that are here with my Lord.

Since I came down, the weather hath been such as our fleet hath been divided, part in Dover road and part at Margate and Gorend; and never could come either of us to other, and those at the Margate can hardly row ashore, or get aboard when they were ashore.

Sir Francis Drake and I discharged and sent away many of the western and coast ships, before my Lord came down; which, upon some news that Sir Edward Norreys brought, my Lord was somewhat displeased and disliked it.

I am not able to send your Lordship a better particular of the numbers that are and were in her Majesty's certain pay than that which I sent from Plymouth, wherein was demanded about 19 thousand pound to bring the pay to the 28th of July; wherein there was no conducts demanded, for that no discharge was then thought of; neither was there any ships of the coast spoken of or voluntary ships but those of Sir Richard Greynvile and those taken into service by Sir Francis Drake then over and above his warrant, yet by order from the Council, as Sir Richard Greynvile and he hath to show.

Your Lordship may think that by death, by discharging of sick men, and such like, that there may be spared something in the general pay. First, those that die, their friends require their pay. In place of those which are discharged sick and insufficient, which indeed are many, there are fresh men taken, which breedeth a far greater charge, by means of their conduct in discharge, which exceedeth the wages of these which were lastly taken in, and more lost by that than saved. We do pay by the



poll and by a check book, whereby if anything be spared, it is to her Majesty's benefit only. The ships I have paid, of those which were under Sir Francis Drake's charge, I find full furnished with men, and many above their numbers.

Those ships that are under my Lord Seymour, Sir William Wynter doth assure my Lord they have their full numbers. Beside there were sent aboard 500 soldiers, by Sir John Norreys and others; which stood them in little stead, for that they were imperfect men; but they kept them not above 8 days.

The weather continueth so extreme and the tides come so swift that we cannot get any victuals aboard but with trouble and difficulty, nor go from ship to ship. But as weather will serve, and time, to gather better notes,<sup>1</sup> your Lordship shall be more particularly informed of all things.

We think the conducts in discharge, with the double conducts, cannot grow to less than 2,500*l.*; and so I humbly take my leave From the Ark Raleigh, in Dover road, the 26th of August, 1588.

Your good Lordship's humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

There is a month's wages grown since the 28th of July, and ended the 25th of August, and so groweth daily till the discharge be concluded; therefore it were good your Lordship consider of it.<sup>2</sup>

My good Lord, this is as much as is possible for Mr. Hawkyms to do at this time. There is here in our fleet many lieutenants and corporals, which of necessity we were and are driven to have. Your Lordship knoweth well how services be far from that they were, and [I] assure your Lordship of necessity

<sup>1</sup> MS. notes.

<sup>2</sup> This first postscript is in the same writing as the letter. The next is in Howard's autograph.

it must be so. God knoweth how they should be paid, except her Majesty have some consideration on them. The matter, it is not great in respect of the service. I think 500*l*., with the help of my own purse,<sup>1</sup> will do it ; but howsoever it fall out I must see them paid, and will ; for I do not look to end with this service, and therefore I must be followed hereafter. My good Lord, look but what the officers had with Sir Francis Drake, having but 4 of her Majesty's ships. I do not desire half so much for all this great fleet.

My good Lord, it grieveth me much to hear of my Lord Chamberlain's sickness. The Almighty God help him. The Queen's Majesty and the realm should have as great a loss as of any one man that I do know. God send the next news to be of his amendment. God send you health, my good Lord.

Your Lordship's most assured to command,

C. HOWARD.

*August 27.—BOROUGH TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 57.—Signed. Addressed.]

After my duty unto your Honour always duly considered:—I have received your Honour's letter by this messenger, whereby I understand her Majesty's pleasure touching the discharge of most part of the navy, and that I should stay the sending of those ships &c., now at Chatham, which came in to be graved. May it please your Honour, I was yesterday at the Court, in the afternoon, at what time your Honour was with my Lord Treasurer at his Lordship's chamber, sitting, as it was told me, upon a commission. I was then in the outer chamber when your Honour came forth, and staid

<sup>1</sup> MS. *pourse*.

till my Lord came out. I showed my Lord that my coming was to know his Lordship's pleasure, whether I might not go down to Chatham, for the despatch of those ships to the seas that were there, and other business needful. His Lordship answered me that it was resolved that the most of the navy should be discharged and come in, saving a few that should remain at the seas under charge of Sir Henry Palmer, and therefore willed me to have care to husband things as well as I could. I could have no more words with his Lordship; he went straight to the Queen.

I then repaired to your Honour's chamber, to the end to have had some further speeches with your Honour therein. But then the show of horsemen began to appear, and your Honour was accompanied with divers of great honour, which were then in your chamber to see the sight. Being therefore out of hope to speak with your Honour in long time, I came thence, and straight sent order to Chatham to stay the Elizabeth Jonas and such other vessels as are there; and likewise to stay such other provisions as were, by order of my Lord Admiral, appointed in haste to be sent to the seas for the fleet.

Now that I have received your Honour's order, I purpose, in the morning, to go down to Chatham, but will return as speedily as I may, and will take order both here and there for saving such superfluous charges as her Majesty should sustain by sending provisions (now needless) that were appointed to be carried to the fleet, now at sea. And so I humbly take my leave, committing your Honour to the protection of the Almighty. From Deptford, the 27th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's at command most humbly,

W. BOROUGH.



*August 27.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 59.—Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed, in Burghley's hand :—Lord Admiral, by Sir Francis Drake.

Sir :—Upon <sup>1</sup> your letter, I sent presently for Sir Francis Drake, and showed him the desire that her Majesty had for the intercepting of the King's treasure from the Indies.<sup>2</sup> And so we considered of it ; and neither of us finding any ships here in the fleet any ways able to go such a voyage before they have been aground, which cannot be done in any place but at Chatham ; and now that this spring is so far past, it will be 14 days before they can be grounded. And where you write that I should make nobody acquainted with it but Sir Francis Drake—it is very strange to me that anybody can think that if it were that [some] of the smallest barks were to be sent out, but that the officers must know it ; for this is not as if a man would send but over to the coast of France, I do assure you.

Sir Francis Drake, who is a man of judgment and best acquainted with it, will tell you what must be done for such a journey. Belike it is thought the islands be but hereby ; it is not thought how the year is spent. I thought it good, therefore, to send with all speed Sir Francis, although he be not very well, to inform you rightly of all, and look what shall be there thought meet. I will do my endeavour with all the power I may ; for I protest before God, I would give all that I have that it<sup>3</sup> were met withal ; for that blow, after this he hath, would make him safe.

Sir, for Sir Thomas Morgan<sup>4</sup> and the discharging

<sup>1</sup> MS. Apone.    <sup>2</sup> MS. Indias.    <sup>3</sup> The King's treasure.

<sup>4</sup> Sending Morgan and his 800 shot back to Flushing. See *ante*, pp. 31, 65, 84.

of ships, I will deal withal when the spring is past ; but before, I dare not venture. For them of London, I do not hear of them yet, but those that be with my cousin Knyvet.

Sir, I send you here enclosed a note of the money that Sir Francis Drake had aboard Don Pedro. I did take now, at my coming down, 3,000 pistolets, as I told you I would ; for, by Jesus, I had not 3*l*. besides in the world, and had not anything could get money in London ; and I do assure you my plate was gone before. But I will repay it within 10 days after my coming home. I pray you let her Majesty know so. And by the Lord God of Heaven, I had not one crown more ; and had it not been mere necessity, I would not have touched one ; but if I had not some to have bestowed upon some poor and miserable men, I should have wished myself out of the world. Sir, let me not live longer than I shall be most willing to all service, and to take any pains I can for her Majesty's service. I think Sir Francis Drake will say I have little rest day or night. The Ark, in Dover road, the 27th of August.

Your most assured,

C. HOWARD.

*August 27.—TREASURE IN THE N. S. DEL ROSARIO.*

[ccxv. 59, I.—Signed. The body of the document is in Drake's writing. Enclosure in Howard's letter of the same date.]

7,200
10,000
5,600
2,500
<hr/>
25,300

This I confess to have.

Carried aboard to my Lord Admiral, by his Lordship's commandment, the 23rd of August 1588, three thousand pistolets. FRA. DRAKE.

C. HOWARD.

Taken out of the sum above written, by my Lord Admiral's knowledge, three thousand pistolets, the 27th of August, 1588. FRA. DRAKE.

*August 27.—HOWARD TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxv. 61.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My honoured good Lord :—I received your letter, with the letter from the Earl of Sussex enclosed in it, about 5 of the clock in the morning ; and within an hour after I received your other letter. I have sent the Hope, with Captain Sampson, and 5 other ships ; four of them that are under my cousin Knyvet's charge. We do all think it very fit<sup>1</sup> to send strong ; for assuredly they of Newhaven will rescue them. It were a great shame that the matter should be taken in hand and not well gone through.

I do also hear that there are certain<sup>2</sup> ships riding under Beechy, that are laden with Spaniards' goods. I have sent one by land to discover them. If they be there, they shall be visited when the spring is past. They stay there but for a wind to bring them through. I must leave the report of all things to this bearer,<sup>3</sup> who is acquainted with all. And so my good Lord, Sir Francis Drake making great haste, I leave with my most hearty commendations to your

<sup>1</sup> MS. feet.

<sup>2</sup> MS. sarten.

<sup>3</sup> Drake, as appears in the next line, who carried this with the preceding.



Lordship, whom God long continue with health.  
From aboard the Ark, the 27th of August.

Your Lordship's most assured to command,  
C. HOWARD.

*August 27.—ALDERMAN RADCLYFF<sup>1</sup> TO  
WALSINGHAM.*

[ccxv. 60.—Signed. Addressed. Endorsed.]

Right Honourable, my humble duty remembered  
&c. :—Upon the last moving of the matter unto your  
Honour by Sir George Barne<sup>2</sup> and myself, in the  
behalf of our poor house of Bridewell, it then pleased  
your Honour to show favourable liking thereunto.  
Since which time, according to your Honour's com-  
mandment, we have attended,<sup>3</sup> to understand your  
Honour's pleasure and the rest of my Lords,  
hoping to have obtained your Honour's warrant for  
the making choice of some 3 or 4 of the Spanish  
prisoners there, who might answer us for the charge  
of the rest. During which time of our attendance,  
the chiefest of the said prisoners have been taken  
away by others.

And forasmuch as the charge of keeping them  
is far more than the said house can bear, I thought  
it my duty once again to put your Honour in mind  
thereof, most humbly praying the continuance of  
your honourable favour herein; assuring your  
Honour that, if some help be not obtained towards  
their maintenance by this means, we shall be com-  
pelled, in respect of the great poverty of the said  
house, to make a general collection through the city  
for the maintenance of those Spaniards; which will

<sup>1</sup> Sheriff of London in 1585.

<sup>2</sup> Sheriff in 1576; Lord Mayor and knighted 1586-7.

<sup>3</sup> Waited.

be very unwillingly assented unto by the common sort, and we ourselves far more unwilling to do the same, if by any means it might be avoided; which can be by no other way than by the obtaining your Honour's warrant as aforesaid. The which we do most humbly entreat.

Your Honour's most bounden  
in all duty to command,  
ANTHONY RADCLYFF.

*August 28.—HOWARD TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxy. 62.—Holograph. No address nor endorsement. The letter fills the four pages of the sheet, and must have been sent in a cover, which is wanting.]

My good Lord:—I have received your letter concerning a French ship that should<sup>1</sup> be taken by a couple of pinnaces of her Majesty, and your Lordship hath written that the captain's name of the pinnace is Ware. My Lord, I protest I have inquired as much as possible I can. I can hear of no such thing, nor of any captain of that name. And where he saith that he<sup>2</sup> gave me notice of the Spanish fleet, I do assure you, on my honour, there was never any of any nation, English or other, that I knew anything of the discovery of the army,<sup>3</sup> but only Thomas Flemyng. Sir Francis Drake is now there. I pray let him be asked if he knew of any. The way for to know what pinnace and captain did it is for the party to come hither and see the pinnaces, for else I know not how to do it.

Newhaven men may do what they will. They have taken a hoy<sup>4</sup> of Thomas Gray's, my master,

<sup>1</sup> Is said to have been.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the master of the French ship is meant—the party referred to eight lines lower down.

<sup>3</sup> Supply 'from.'

<sup>4</sup> MS. howy.

and stayed her, that went thither with coals<sup>1</sup>; and I see nothing restored to our men, whatsoever they do. But, my Lord, it is great dishonour to her Majesty that such a town as Newhaven is, that is not at the King's<sup>2</sup> commandment, but at the devotion of her Majesty's great and villainous enemy, the Duke of Guise, should have that favour they have, and our men sustain the wrong they do by them. But, my Lord, come of it what shall, I will lay rods in water for them. I marvel the ambassador<sup>3</sup> is not ashamed to speak for that town that the King his men cannot command. I do assure your Lordship, I will not see the seamen thus hardly dealt withal. There is now here with me three or four complaints of Newhaven. Good my Lord, as we shall and ought before God and man to do justice, so for honour and justice to our own people, let them have right. For, my Lord, when I was in the west I took a pirate, and when I charged him with his piracies, he cursed,<sup>4</sup> and said he had dealt against none but Frenchmen; and he said he was forced<sup>5</sup> to it, for he had complained two years together of his losses by Frenchmen, and that he was appointed at the last to go over into France to follow it; so he and his partner went over. When they had put up the complaint to the King, they were threatened at the King's back, and the next day his fellow, going from Paris to Rouen,<sup>6</sup> was killed. This was complained on by the other party at the council board at Greenwich,<sup>7</sup> and after at Oatlands. He followed the suit long, and saw no good would come of it, and therefore sought other remedy. The man I knew very well, and remembered his suit, and so I am sure your Lordship and Mr. Secretary doth, when you shall see him. My Lord,

<sup>1</sup> MS. colse.      <sup>2</sup> King of France.      <sup>3</sup> MS. imbasador.

<sup>4</sup> MS. corsed.

<sup>5</sup> MS. forsed.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Rone.

<sup>7</sup> MS. Grynwyge.



assure yourself if men have not justice they will be pirates. My Lord, it is no answer to a man to say the King's case is so that he can do no justice. Thanks be to God, her Majesty's case is able to make them to do justice.

My Lord, we have had here a wonderful storm these two days, and it continueth still. No man was able to come aboard of me for the discharging of ships ; so we were fain, with the wind and tide, and not without peril, to come to Dover town, to confer about the discharge of the ships and the appointing of those ships that shall remain in the Narrow Seas under the charge of Sir Henry Palmer, which is fit<sup>1</sup> to be something strong for a time. My Lord, it is a wonderful trouble the discharging. Things in this service hath grown so intricate with charging and discharging ; as at Plymouth, we discharged many ships because there was some opinion the Spaniards would not come ;<sup>2</sup> within four days after, we heard of their arrival on the coast ; then we were fain to charge all again, and some others. Now here, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkyns discharged the day before my coming down hither many ships. The next day, Sir E. Norreys brought those advertisements your Lordship do know. I sent presently and stayed as many as I could. I think your Lordship doth<sup>3</sup> I had reason ; but upon advertisements

<sup>1</sup> MS. feet.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the origin of the story, which the Dutch chroniclers got hold of, and Motley (*Hist. of United Netherlands*, ii. 450) repeated, of the Queen sending Howard orders to pay off the four great ships, and of Howard disobeying them at his own risk. No such orders were given, or could have been given, for the great ships could only be discharged at Chatham. The ships to which Howard here refers were some of the smaller merchant ships, such as Hawkyns had now also made haste to discharge. Cf. *ante*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> MS. dowthe. There seems to be a word wanting, perhaps 'know.'

that I had from the other side, I did discharge, as the weather would give me leave to speak with them.

I have sent over to Calais crays of this town sundry times to bring me advertisements. Yesterday one returned from thence. The King's<sup>1</sup> bastard son, the Duke of Pascaredo,<sup>2</sup> came there yesterday. He sent to Monsieur Gourdan to desire that he might come thither with 150 horse; but M. Gourdan desired him to pardon him, but he should come with 50 men, and so he did. He had 20 lackeys ran by him. There rode hard by his [side<sup>3</sup>] Don Juan Henriquez. They say his errand<sup>4</sup> is to see the galleass, that is utterly rewalted<sup>5</sup> and sunk in the sand, never to be recovered; and also to speak with them at Calais that was within the galleass, and now to go into Spain. There came thither yesterday 4 small flyboats of Dunkirk to carry them away into Spain. The weather is so extreme as no man dare to venture<sup>6</sup> on that coast, the wind being at the North and North-East; and with that wind may they go away. The ships that I had appointed and ready yesterday to go towards Newhaven, for the assisting of the Aid and the Charles, dare not yet put out of the road, the weather is so extreme; but I hope tomorrow morning they will.

My Lord, we have rid here a bad road, and I am assured those ships at Margate worse. God send me to hear well of them. I have sent three posts to know. The ships that I have appointed to remain in the Narrow Seas with Sir Henry Palmer are these:—

<sup>1</sup> King of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. Rodrigo de Silva, Duke of Pastrana, is meant.

<sup>3</sup> Word omitted.

<sup>4</sup> MS. arant.

<sup>5</sup> Laid, as corn; tumbled down.

<sup>6</sup> MS. venter.

	Men
The Vanguard . . . . .	250
Rainbow . . . . .	230
Foresight . . . . .	160
Aid . . . . .	120
Tiger . . . . .	90
Tramontana . . . . .	70
Achates . . . . .	60
Sun . . . . .	25
Moon . . . . .	35
	<hr/>
	1,040

My good Lord, it is good to be something strong for a while ; it may be after lessened. Now your Lordship may perceive what victual is to be used. I have caused all the remain of victuals to be laid here and at Sandwich, for the maintaining them that shall remain in the Narrow Seas ; but Mr. Quarles must help with better beer. This, my good Lord, I leave to trouble you for this time ; though your Lordship and I must look ever to be greatly troubled as long as this world is. God send your Lordship your health. From Dover, the 28th of August.

Your Lordship's most ready to command,

C. HOWARD.

I thank God I perceive, by a letter of Mr. Secretary's, that my Lord Chamberlain hath missed a fever. God restore him to his health.

*August 28.—HAWKYNS TO BURGHELEY.*

[ccxv. 63.—Signed. Addressed. Endorsed, in Burghley's autograph :—Sir John Hawkyns, with answer to my letter for to know the state of the Queen's army.]

My honourable good Lord :—I am sorry I do live so long to receive so sharp a letter from your



Lordship, considering how carefully I take care to do all for the best and to ease charge. The ships that be in her Majesty's pay, such as I have to do for, your Lordship hath many particulars of them and their numbers ; notwithstanding, I do send your Lordship all these again. I had but one day to travail in, and then I discharged many after the rate that I thought my money would reach ; but after that day I could hardly row from ship to ship, the weather hath been continually so frightful.

I have six companies that do pay. Here are two clerks of Mr. Holstok's, two of Mr. Borough's, and Sir William Wynter in person, that helpeth what he can, and my brother<sup>1</sup> ; and a clerk of the check, appointed by the officers to keep and order the books of those ships under Sir Francis Drake's charge, which I sent for post to Plymouth when I arrived at Harwich. I have six of mine own company that attend the pay, and so I furnish six companies ; but now the ships go to Chatham, I do stay any payments saving sick men, such of the gentlemen that can be spared with their retinues, and soldiers ; and discharge all the merchant ships that were in Sir Francis Drake's number, as near as I can.

Here is victual sufficient, and I know not why any should be provided after September, but for those which my Lord doth mean to leave in the Narrow Seas ; which numbers will be about a thousand men, of which also I will send to your Lordship the names of the ships and their particular numbers, and never omit it more, though I may ill do it always. I do not meddle with any of the ships of London, for my Lord will discharge them all ; neither do I write your Lordship anything of

<sup>1</sup> Edward Fenton, the husband of his wife's sister. He had only one brother in blood, William, the Mayor of Plymouth.

the coast ships ; but I am in gathering of a book<sup>1</sup> of all those that served, and the quality and time of their service, as I can overcome it. Your Lordship shall see it in the best order I can. Some are discharged with fair words ; some are so miserable and needy, that they are holpen with tickets to the victuallers for some victual to help them home ; and some with a portion of money, such as my Lord Admiral will appoint, to relieve their sick men and to relieve some of the needy sort, to avoid exclamation.<sup>2</sup> The sick men are paid and discharged, that are in her Majesty's pays ; the soldiers also, for the most part, we discharge here ; the retinues, some have leave to go to London, and are to be paid there ; and thus there is left but convenient companies of mariners and gunners to bring home the ships to Chatham. Your Lordship may consider by the numbers and the time they are to pay to the 25th of August, I required 19,000 pound, which I perceive your Lordship hath paid. At that time I knew of no thorough discharge, and till then I never demanded any conduct in discharge. The time will come over somewhat also for a good company before they come to Chatham ; but I will go with this as far as I can, and never demand more till extremity compel me.

There are some ships appointed to go to the coast of France for the great Spaniard. I will not forget to write your Lordship what they are, and their numbers, with those that stay in the Narrow Seas ; but my Lord will leave order they shall all so come to Chatham that are not of those companies in the Narrow Seas. Your Lordship doth know best what ships her Majesty will keep abroad, and can best give order to Mr. Quarles for the victual-

<sup>1</sup> This book does not seem to be in existence.

<sup>2</sup> Outcry.

ling of them. My Lord hath now received order to discharge the army, which [I] assure your Lordship my Lord doth pass with all the speed possible ; and Sir William Wynter and I am not behindhand to further the easing of the charge. This money, which your Lordship hath delivered, is a prest which is not sufficient to discharge that which is to be paid ; howbeit her Majesty's charge shall cease<sup>1</sup> with all the speed that may be ; and, as I wrote in my last letters, the check book of every ship is kept not by me, I assure your Lordship ; it is impossible for me to spare time to peruse<sup>2</sup> them ; but when the officers put their hands to confirm the pay books, I give my men allowance of so much money as the book maintaineth ; and with that her Majesty is charged with, and no more ; and I never yet knew any penny profit by sea books, nor know not what a dead pay meaneth, as it hath been most injuriously and falsely informed. There are diets to the captains, dead shares to the officers, and such like accustomed pays to the officers, which are paid, and no more. It shall hereafter be none offence to your Lordship that I do so much alone ; for with God's favour I will and must leave all. I pray God I may end this account to her Majesty's and your Lordship's liking, and avoid my own undoing ; and I trust God will so provide for me as I shall never meddle with such intricate matters more ; for they be importable<sup>3</sup> for any man to please and overcome it. If I had any enemy, I would wish him no more harm than the course of my troublesome and painful life ; but hereunto, and to God's good providence, we are born.

I have showed your Lordship's letter to my Lord Admiral and Sir William Wynter, who can best

<sup>1</sup> MS. seesse.

<sup>2</sup> Examine.

<sup>3</sup> MS. importyble = unbearable, intolerable, impossible.



judge of my care and painful travail, and the desire I have to ease the charge. Since we came to Harwich, the Margate, and Dover, our men have much fallen sick, whereby many are discharged; which we havenot greatly desired to increase, because we always hoped of a general discharge; yet some mariners we have procured to divers of the ships, to refresh them. And so I leave, in great haste, to trouble your Lordship. From Dover, the 28th of August, 1588.

Your honourable Lordship's humbly to command,  
JOHN HAWKYNs.

*August 28.—NOTE OF SHIPS IN THE  
QUEEN'S PAY.*

[ccxv. 64.—Endorsed by Burghley :—‘ 28th August, 1588 ’; the rest partly in Hawkyns’ hand, and initialled by him :—‘ A note of all the ships in her Majesty’s pay. The ships that are to remain in the Narrow Seas, and the ships that seek the great Spaniard upon the coast of France.—J. H. This is badly written and in haste; I humbly pray your Lordship to bear with it. The hoys, with four ships of those under Mr. Thomas Knyvet, go also to seek the great Spaniard.’ Added in Burghley’s writing :—‘ 16th September, 1588.’]

The ships that went to Plymouth with my Lord Admiral :—

	[Men]		[Men]
The Ark Raleigh	. 425	The Swallow	. 160
Bear	. 500	Foresight	. 160
Triumph	. 500	Charles	. 40
Elizabeth Jonas	500	Moon	. 40
Victory	. 400	Disdain	. 45
Mary Rose	. 250	White Lion	50
Elizabeth Bona-		Hoy	. 30
venture	. 250	Marigold	. 20
Golden Lion	. 250	Ketch	. 12
Dreadnought	. 200	Lark	. 30
			<hr/> 3,862
			N 2

Ships remaining with my Lord Seymour in the Narrow Seas :—

	[Men]		[Men]
The Rainbow .	250	The Spy .	35
Vanguard .	250	Merlin .	35
Antelope .	160	Sun .	30
Tiger .	100	Cygnets .	20
Bull .	100	George .	30
Tramontana .	70	Fancy .	24
Scout .	70	Ketch .	12
Achates .	60		
			<hr/> 1,246

	[Men]
The Galley . . . . .	250
Brigandine . . . . .	36
Victualler . . . . .	14
	<hr/> 300

The ships under Sir Francis Drake's charge :—

	[Men]		[Men]
The Revenge .	250	The Swiftsure .	200
Nonpareil .	250	Aid .	120
Hope .	250	Advice .	35
			<hr/> 1,105

	[Tons]	
The Galleon Leicester . . . . .	400	160
Merchant Royal . . . . .	400	140
Roebuck . . . . .	300	120
Edward Bonaventure . . . . .	300	120
Gold Noble . . . . .	250	110
Hopewell . . . . .	200	100
Griffin . . . . .	200	100
Minion . . . . .	200	80
Thomas . . . . .	200	80
Bark Talbot . . . . .	200	80
Spark . . . . .	200	80

# SPANISH ARMADA

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	[Tons]	[Men]
The Hope . . . . .	180	70
Bark Bond . . . . .	150	70
Bark Bonner . . . . .	150	70
Bark Hawkyns . . . . .	140	70
Eliz. Founes . . . . .	100	60
Unity . . . . .	80	40
Elizabeth Drake . . . . .	50	30
Bear . . . . .	140	70
Chance . . . . .	60	40
Delight . . . . .	50	30
Nightingale . . . . .	40	24
Small Caravel . . . . .	30	24

2,993<sup>1</sup>

The abstract of the whole charge in her Majesty's pay :—

	[Men]
My Lord Admiral . . . . .	3,862
Sir Francis . . . . .	2,995
My Lord Seymour . . . . .	1,246
The Galley &c. . . . .	300
	<hr/> 8,401

Ships taken by Sir Francis Drake .	614
	<hr/> 9,021

The ships of Sir Richard Greynville's and others :—

	[Tons]	[Men]
The Galleon Dudley . . . . .	250	100
God Save Her . . . . .	200	80
Frigate . . . . .	80	60
Bark St. Leger . . . . .	160	80
Manington . . . . .	150	80

<sup>1</sup> Some ships seem to be omitted, and the total of men is in excess of the details ; but the arithmetic throughout is peculiar.



	[Tons]	[Men]
The Bark Buggins . . . .	80	50
Bark Flemyng, Golden Hind . . . .	50	30
Bark Leman, Makeshift . .	60	40
Diamond of Dartmouth . .	60	40
Speedwell . . . .	70	14
Bark Yonge . . . .	70	40
		<hr/> 614

This is parcel of the abstract.

28th of August, 1588.

Ships appointed to stay in the Narrow Seas :—

		[Men]
The Hope . .	John Sampson <sup>1</sup> . .	250
Vanguard . .	Sir Henry Palmer capt. .	250
Rainbow . .	Thos. Gray <sup>2</sup> capt. . .	230
Aid . . . .	Willm. Fenner or Wm. Wynter . .	120
Foresight . .	Luke Ward capt. . .	160
Tiger . . . .	Mr. Bostocke capt. . .	90
Tramontana . .	Mr. Clifford capt. . .	70
Achates . . .	Mr. Riggs capt. . .	60
Sun . . . .	} Masters . . . .	25
Moon . . . .		35
		<hr/> 1,290

This is no parcel of the abstract.

Ships abroad to seek the Spaniards :—

The Elizabeth Bonaventure . . . .	250
Foresight ; she is noted to remain.	
Aid ; she is also to remain . . . .	120
The Charles . . . . .	40

<sup>1</sup> This name is written in by Burghley. Sampson had probably been master of the Hope in the action ; but it does not appear what had now become of Crosse.

<sup>2</sup> Gray had been master of the Ark.

*August 29.—HOWARD TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 66.—Holograph. Addressed. In very bad condition.]

Sir:—This morning I have received a letter from Sir Thomas Morgan. The effect<sup>1</sup> is that he hath taken order for his men to [move] to Sandwich. I have taken order that the two hoys that served in the Narrow Seas with my Lord Ha. Seymour shall waft them, and also carry some of the soldiers in [them]. I doubt much the soldiers will not march before they have money. I am told they have no money come yet. I mean<sup>2</sup> to ride this afternoon to the soldiers to see what I can do with them, to embark them.

Sir, it is no small trouble that I have here in discharging of the ships of sundry places, both to the westwards as far as Bristol and Bridgwater. We are fain to help them with victuals to bring them [thither]. There is not any of them that hath one day's victuals, and many [of them] have sent many sick men ashore here, and not one penny to relieve them. I am driven to make Sir John Hawkyns to relieve them with money as he can [do]. It were too pitiful to have men starve after such a service. I know her Majesty would not, for any good. Therefore I had rather open the Queen's Majesty's purse something to relieve them, than they should be in that extremity; for we are to look to have more of these services; and if men should not be cared for better than to let them starve and die miserably, we should very hardly get men to serve. Sir, I desire [but] that there may be but double allowance of but as much as I [give] out of my own purse, and yet I am not the ablest man in [the realm]; but,

<sup>1</sup> Effect = substance.

<sup>2</sup> MS. min.

before God, I had rather have never penny in the world than they should lack.

It was this morning before those ships could go hence that should go to the helping of the Aid and the Charles, the storms have been so great these 3 days. I have sent over this morning the French gentleman of M. d'Éperon's<sup>1</sup> to Boulogne. I perceive by him he will [return] again to-morrow if he can.

There came into the road here yesternight against his will a very great hulk that came from Lisbon. I do understand by them that there were 12 ships laden with victuals to come to the [armada], thinking to find them here. They say certainly they will come this way.

I do hear there rideth divers ships under Beechy. Those ships that go with Captain Sampson and Mr. Knyvet shall speak with them, for it is in their [way. I have] gotten of the master of the hulk the names of the masters of [those] ships that bringeth the victuals out of Spain; so as I doubt not but if [they come] this ways but that they shall be met withal.

Even as I was writing [this present], George Morgan came to me, and told me that the soldiers were going to Sandwich. It shall be well done to hasten Sir Thomas Morgan from London, who is gone thither, as I learn, about earnest business; and also that the money for the soldiers be [sent] down with all speed to them. Sir, I thank God that my Lord Chamberlain hath [regained] his feet. God send him health. I do leave Sir William Wynter, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, with the captains and one lieutenant, to [be] in the ships.

<sup>1</sup> The Duke d'Éperon, the celebrated 'mignon' of Henry III. At this period he was earning a nobler distinction as the leader of the King's army.



Sir, I think that myself, my Lord Ha. Seymour, my Lord Thomas Howard and [my Lord] Sheffield will be at the Court on Sunday ; for I trust by to-morrow<sup>1</sup> night to despatch all things here, and to leave order with Sir W. Wynter and Sir John Hawkyns for the rest ; as also with Sir Ha. Palmer, who remaineth with the charge of the ships in the Narrow Seas. I do leave these ships underwritten [with him], for it is good to have some good strength for a while.

Sir, God send you well to do, and so I bid you most heartily farewell. From Dover, the 29th of August.

Your assured loving friend,  
C. HOWARD.

Sir, Mr. Bodley is here, and [will] think he is forgotten. I think [there] is no cause of his farther [stay], but he will not depart till he knoweth her Majesty's pleasure.

The Vanguard	.	.	.	.	[250] <sup>2</sup>
Rainbow .	.	.	.	.	[230] <sup>2</sup>
Foresight	.	.	.	.	[160] <sup>2</sup>
Aid .	.	.	.	.	120
Tiger .	.	.	.	.	90
Tramontana	.	.	.	.	70
Moon .	.	.	.	.	35
Sun .	.	.	.	.	25
					<hr/>
					1,040 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Friday.

<sup>2</sup> Torn away.

<sup>3</sup> This sum only amounts to 980. The Achates, 60 men, is omitted in error. See *ante*, p. 175.

August 29.—CARY TO WALSYNGHAM.

[ccxv. 67.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Having now brought the Spanish ship<sup>1</sup> in safe harbour, bestowed the prisoners in sure keeping, and inventoried the ordnance and goods, we have sent unto your Honour the said inventory under our hands, with a note of the charges concerning the same, and with our humble request unto your Honours for some directions touching these Spanish prisoners, whom we would have been very glad they had been made water spaniels when they were first taken. Their provision, which is left to sustain them, is very little and nought, their fish savours, so that it is not to be eaten, and their bread full of worms. The people's charity unto them (coming with so wicked an intent) is very cold; so that if there be not order forthwith taken by your Lordships, they must starve. They are many in number, and divers of them already very weak, and some dead. The pilot of the ship is as perfect in our coasts as if he had been a native born. Divers of the rest are of the garrison<sup>2</sup> of Sicilia.

And touching the inventoring of the ordnance and goods, there are, I think, a 12 or 13 pieces of brass ordnance taken out of the ship, and so left out of our inventory, as your Honour may perceive by the empty carriages which are noted down on the inventory; of the which I take it Jacob Whiddon, captain of the Roebuck, had ten, and likewise divers muskets and calivers. A pinnace of Plymouth, that came from my Lord Admiral for

<sup>1</sup> N. S. del Rosario.

<sup>2</sup> He uses 'garrison' as the English equivalent of *tercio*, which is rather the modern 'regiment.'

powder and shot, had other two pieces ; and the Samaritan of Dartmouth had the other, as also 10 muskets and 10 calivers. The Roebuck had also divers pipes of wine, and two of oil. None of these things could be allowed to be set down in the inventory, because my warrant from my Lords was for the inventoring of the goods whatsoever which were or are here remaining in the ship [sithence] their Lordships' first letters, and these things were taken out before. I was never much<sup>1</sup> experienced in these causes before this time ; but now I find that all these sea goods are mixed with bird-lime ; for no man can lay his hand of them, but is limed, and must bring away somewhat. Watch and look never so narrowly, they will steal and pilfer. There are four or five pipes of wine and vinegar privily hoisted over board, of which I have some understanding of, and in my next letters your Honour shall have further knowledge what is become of them. And so they are not inventoried.

And now, having told you of others, I pray let me trouble your Honour and show a little of myself. It is reported unto us that there should a warrant come from my Lords for the receipt of the [ship] out of our hands ; and therefore Sir John [Gilberte] and I have left out of the inventory 4 pipes of wine, two for him and two for myself ; but herewith I shall humbly beseech your Honour to acquaint my Lords ; for if it be not their pleasures to bestow the said two pipes on me, I will pay for them with all my heart as the rest are sold ; for in no case, nor under any colour, would I use any deceit, especially where trust is reposed in me ; neither will I touch the wines until I hear from your Honour what their Lordships' pleasures are. Thus, being sorry that I

<sup>1</sup> MS. mitch.



have troubled your Honour so long, I humbly take my leave. Cockington, this 29th of August, 1588.

Your Honour's most bounden,

GEORGE CARY.

*August 26.—GILBERTE AND CARY TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxv. 68.—Signed. Addressed.]

Our duties to your good Lordships most humbly remembered:—Having received your Honours' letters for the safe keeping and bestowing of the Spanish prisoners, and likewise for the true and perfect inventoring of the ordnance, munition, and all other things whatsoever remaining in the ship which was left in Torbay, and now in the haven of Dartmouth:

And touching the said prisoners, being in number 397, whereof we sent to my Lord Lieutenant<sup>1</sup> five of the chiefest of them, whom his Lordship hath committed to the town prison of Exon; and we have put 226 in our Bridewell, amongst which all the mariners are placed, which are 61, besides youngers and boys. The rest, which are 166, for the ease of our country from the watching and guarding of them, and conveying of their provision of their victuals unto them—which was very burdensome unto our people in this time of harvest—we have therefore placed them aboard the Spanish ship, to live upon such victuals as do remain in the said ship; which is very little and bad, their fish unsavoury, and their bread full of worms, and of so small quantity as will suffice them but a very small time.

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Bath.

And touching the ordnance and other things in the said ship, we have herewith, under our hands, sent your Lordships the true inventory, having left all the great ordnance aboard the ship; but the small ordnance, lest that it should be embezzled<sup>1</sup> away, we have caused the same to be had on shore.

The wines, being 85 pipes, were so badly conditioned that they made but 67 full pipes, which are put in safe cellarage; and the wines but indifferent, and many of them eager.<sup>2</sup> Thus much presuming of your Lordships' good allowance, we have bestowed four pipes of the said wines: the one on my Lord Edward Seymour,<sup>3</sup> for cumbering his house with these Spanish prisoners until the ship was cleared, not knowing otherwise where we should have bestowed them; the other three pipes we gave to three gentlemen that this month have continually lain aboard and attended the said ship. There are also sundry gentlemen and others which have demanded divers pipes of wine heretofore given unto them by the captains,<sup>4</sup> and some of them (as they say) have already paid their money for the same;

<sup>1</sup> MS. imbeaselled.

<sup>2</sup> Sour. Fr. *aigre*.

<sup>3</sup> Second son of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, by his first wife, whom he repudiated, disinheriting her children. By the early death of his elder brother, he remained the eldest son; but though this was acknowledged by Act of Parliament (7 Edw.VI.), it was a younger Edward, the eldest son of the Duke by his second marriage, that was created Earl of Hertford in 1559. The older Edward lived retired at Bury Pomeroy, and died in 1593. His son was created a baronet in 1611. It was his great-grandson, the third baronet, to whom, on his waiting on the Prince of Orange at Exeter in 1688, the Prince remarked:—'I think, Sir Edward, you are of the Duke of Somerset's family?' 'No, sir,' he replied, 'he is of mine.' On the failure of the younger line, the title reverted to the elder in 1750.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Flemyng, who brought her in, and Whiddon of the Roebuck, who had helped himself to 'divers pipes of wine'; but the meaning is not clear.

but yet we have made stay thereof until your Lordships' pleasures be further known.

We have also sent your Honours a book of the charge which hath been defrayed about the said ship sithence she was left in Torbay, wind and weather not serving by the space of three weeks to bring her into safe harbour; wherein we humbly pray your Lordships' directions for the allowance of the said charges.

And so, resting to be commanded by your Lordships what your further pleasures are touching these Spanish prisoners and the rest of these causes, we cease from farther troubling your Honours, do most humbly take our leave. Greenwaye, 29th of August, 1588.

Your Lordships' most humbly to command,

JOHN GILBERTE. GEORGE CARY.

*Aug. 28.—INVENTORY OF THE ROSARIO.*

[ccxv. 67, I.; 68, I.—Signed. Duplicate. Enclosure in Mr. Cary's letter to Walsyngham of August 29, and the joint letter to the Council of August 29.]

The true inventory of all the ordnance, munition, wines, and all other things whatsoever aboard the Spanish ship in the haven of Dartmouth, taken the 28th day of August, 1588.

Ordnance of brass :

	lbs.	qrs.	lbs.
Imprimis, one fowler . . . .	803	0	0
Item, more, one fowler . . . .	186	0	0
„ a great base <sup>1</sup> . . . .	700	2	3

<sup>1</sup> According to Norton, an English base weighed 200 lbs., was 1½ inch in the bore, and discharged an iron shot of 1 lb. Foreign patterns varied between 150 and 800 lbs., but the bore seems to have been the same.



# SPANISH ARMADA

191

	lbs.	qrs.	lbs.
Item, more, 1 great base . . .	700	3	4
„ „ 1 great base . . .	600	3	0
„ „ 1 great base . . .	708	0	0
„ „ a base . . .	385	0	0
„ „ 1 base . . .	382	0	0
„ „ 1 base . . .	388	0	0
„ „ 1 base . . .	390	0	0
„ „ 1 base . . .	212	0	0
„ a falconet . . .	700	3	0
„ 5 chambers of 23 case <sup>1</sup> . . .	0	0	0
„ a cannon pedro . . .	2,639	0	0
„ more, a cannon pedro . . .	2,566	0	0
„ a demi-cannon, without number, of 6 inches height . . .	0	0	0
„ more, 1 cannon pedro . . .	3,032	0	0
„ 1 culverin . . .	4,736	0	0
„ more, a culverin . . .	3,200	1	9
„ „ 1 culverin . . .	4,728	0	0
„ 1 basilisco . . .	4,840	0	0
„ more, 1 culverin . . .	4,589	0	0
„ 1 cannon pedro . . .	2,934	0	0
„ more, 1 cannon pedro . . .	2,894	0	0
„ „ 1 cannon pedro . . .	3,021	0	0
„ „ 1 demi-cannon . . .	5,230	0	0
„ „ 1 demi-cannon, without number, of 6 inches in height . . .	0	0	0

## Ordnance of iron :

Imprimis, 10 chambers . . .	0	0	0
Item, 4 fore-locks . . .	0	0	0
„ 1 minion . . .	1,100	0	0
„ 1 demi-culverin . . .	2,300	0	0

All which great pieces of brass and iron are mounted on their carriages a-shipboard.

<sup>1</sup> For case-shot. The case was a wooden cylinder. (Manwayring).

Item,	12	carriages without ordnance.	
„	2	field carriages without wheels.	
„	4	spare anchors within board.	
„	2	cables and anchors which the ship rides by.	
„	3	cables on shore, whereof 2 white and a tarred.	
„	2	kedging anchors.	
„	7	shear hooks <sup>1</sup> for yards.	
„	a	graper <sup>2</sup> of iron with a chain.	
„	a	main-course.	
„	1	mizen-sail.	
„	1	main-topsail wanting the wings, with sundry ropes, some whole, some broken, with divers sorts of pullies. <sup>3</sup>	
„	iron hoops	. . . . .	261
„	empty casks	. . . . .	234
„	sows of lead	. . . . .	5
„	butts of wine taken overboard	. . . . .	85
„	which filled	. . . . .	67
„	a great lantern which was in the stern of the ship.		

A brief of such charges as hath been bestowed about the Spanish ship during the time she remained in Torbay, till the time of her unlading:—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, the wages for 50 men, after the rate of 10s. a month for a man	25	0	0

<sup>1</sup> 'Shear hooks are great hooks of iron, about the bigness of a small sickle and more; they are set into the yard arms of the main and fore yards; the use whereof is that if a ship under sail come to board her that hath these hooks, she will cut her shrouds or tear her sails down with these hooks. Some use them, but they are most unuseful and unnecessary things, and dangerous for the breaking of a yard if the hook should catch in the other ship's mast.' (Manwayring.)

<sup>2</sup> Grapnel.

<sup>3</sup> MS. pullowes.

# SPANISH ARMADA

193

	£	s.	d.
Item, 1,700 of biscuit, at 7s. the hundred	5	19	0
„ 21 hogsheads of beer, at 8s. the hogshead . . . . .	8	8	0
„ for beef, fish, and other necessities . . . . .	11	6	7
„ 8 boats to tow the ship about from Torbay into the haven of Dartmouth . . . . .	1	6	0
„ carpenters to set up a jury mast in Torbay . . . . .	0	13	4
„ to a boatman for carrying of ropes and other necessities to set up the jury mast . . . . .	0	16	0
„ for 20 pounds of iron spikes . . . . .	0	5	0
„ to 2 barks that landed the Spanish prisoners and brought certain ordnance from the ship into Dartmouth haven . . . . .	8	0	0
„ for guarding and watching of the Spaniards 2 nights and a day at their landing . . . . .	1	10	0
„ for 8 boats for carrying of victuals sundry times to the Spanish prisoners . . . . .	2	0	0
„ for a boat of 12 tons to carry victuals to the Spanish prisoners to Bridewell . . . . .	2	0	0
„ wood to dress the Spanish prisoners' meat ashore . . . . .	1	0	0
„ for lifters and labourers for the unloading of the ordnance, wine &c. .	4	17	0
„ for new hooping of the wines . . . . .	2	8	0
„ to Liddenton at his riding post to London to certify the arrival of the Spanish ship . . . . .	2	0	0
„ to a man of my Lord Admiral's that came for the powder out of			



	£	s.	d.
the Spaniard, and so came by			
post to Portsmouth . . . . .	2	0	0
„ for 500 of corr fish for the Spanish			
prisoners . . . . .	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
Sum total	84	8	11

JOHN GILBERTE. GEORGE CARY.

[Memorandum, in Burghley's hand.]

The charges laid out for the prisoners must be accounted for and repaid by the prisoners before they be delivered.

*August 30.—SUSSEX TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxv. 72.—Signed. Addressed. A singularly neat handwriting, though now somewhat faint, the ink having faded.]

It may please your Honours:—Upon Monday morning, being the 26th of this present, Captain Raymond in the Elizabeth Bonaventure, Captain Baker in the Foresight,<sup>1</sup> came from the coast of France, and found here at road Captain Fenner, captain of the Aid, and Captain Roberts, captain of the Charles, who were sent, being all of one concert, for the taking of the great Spanish ship that lay at the Bay of Hogges, and now in Newhaven road; which captains, upon conference had amongst themselves for the execution of this exploit, found that there was among them lack of some victuals, powder and shot to perform the enterprise; for that the Spanish ship was very well manned and appointed with ordnance and small shot, and meant to fight it out, besides the aid they might have of the French. Whereupon they came all unto me for supply of

<sup>1</sup> The words, 'and the pinnace called the Delight,' written in here, have been roughly scored out apparently by Sussex himself.

their wants, which I presently accomplished ; as by the particulars thereof, herein sent to your Honours, may more plainly appear. So as upon Tuesday, about two of the clock after midnight, they set sail for the coast of France ; so as I think they were yesternight, or this morning, at road by the Spanish ship, if she be not gone over the bar at Newhaven this spring tide ; hoping<sup>1</sup> very shortly to hear some good news of their happy success in this their enterprise.

I have also received a letter from my Lord Admiral of the 23rd of this present, wherein he writeth that he hath received all the powder and shot that I sent unto his Lordship, and hath discharged all the ships<sup>2</sup> saving my Lord of Cumberland's. Having<sup>3</sup> requested me likewise, that forso-much as he hath discharged them without their pay, that I would levy so much money hereabouts me, in this country, as will suffice to make pay and satisfaction unto them ; the which, your Honours shall understand, I cannot by any means do, unless I will seek to be hardly thought of by the country—having been so greatly charged otherwise of late in these services—and thereby grow odious unto them ; or else that the same may be levied by order and direction from your Honours of the Council, if you will so have it ; for that of myself, I neither can nor will take it upon me.

I am sorry to write unto your Honours of the disorderly and dishonourable speeches uttered by Gray,<sup>4</sup> one of the masters of the Queen's Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> Sc. so that I hope.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *post*, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. But he has also requested.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Thomas Gray, the master of the Ark, and one of the 'masters of her Majesty's navy,' who had been appointed captain of the Rainbow, in the squadron with Sir H. Palmer (*ante*, p. 182). The only other Gray mentioned is John Gray, the master of the Revenge.

ships, of me ; and not contented therewith, but in offering to beat the captain of one of the barks sent by me, and strake <sup>1</sup> and beat divers of the company, and thrust the master overboard ; who then required that, if he would thrust them overboard, they might be considered for their wages. Gray answered that if my Lord of Sussex did prest them, let him prest no more than he will pay ; and so turned them away, not suffering them to take either their apparel or furniture with them ; and took away from them two hogshheads of beer, which my Lord Admiral had assigned them to bring them home, and put it aboard his own hoy, as they said. These dealings be very hard for a nobleman to receive at such a man's hands as he is ; for as Gray saith he knoweth me, I assure your Honours I know him, and some part of his doings ; but I make small account of his speeches, because I know the man's disposition ; but I fear his blows and beatings will not so easily be put up, if he come in place where they may be remembered ; for men and soldiers will hardly bear to be beaten.

Since the writing of my letters yesterday, and before the sealing up of the same this morning, the Queen's Majesty's ships which were sent for the coast of France—viz. the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the Foresight, the Aid, and the Charles—did come in sight. The Charles having spent her mainmast, and finding the wind to blow very high at North-West, durst <sup>2</sup> not adventure the Queen's ships upon that coast ; and for that cause they returned, and do mean to pass over thither again with the next wind that will serve their turn. And even so I commit your Honours to God. From Portsmouth, the 30th of August, 1588.

Your Honours' most humbly at command,

SUSSEX.

<sup>1</sup> Struck.

<sup>2</sup> They durst not.



*August 25.—NOTE OF SUPPLIES.*

[ccxv. 72, I.—Enclosure in Lord Sussex's letter to the Council of August 30, and is in the same writing.]

A note of such powder, shot, and victuals as was delivered into the Queen's Majesty's ships, the 25th of August, 1588.

For the Aid, William Fenner :

Demi-culverin shot . . . . .	20
Saker shot . . . . .	50
Minion shot . . . . .	50
Barrels of powder . . . . .	5
Saker crossbar shot . . . . .	12
Minion crossbar shot . . . . .	12

For the Charles, John Roberts :

Falcon shot . . . . .	80
Demi-barrels of powder . . . . .	2
Falcon crossbar shot . . . . .	12

For the Elizabeth Bonaventure, George Raymond :

Tons of beer . . . . .	6
Bread . . . . .	600
Demi-cannon shot . . . . .	10
Culverin shot . . . . .	10
[Saker shot] <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	20
Oars for the longboat . . . . .	6

For the Foresight, Christopher Baker :

Barrels of powder . . . . .	4
Demi-culverin shot . . . . .	30
Saker shot . . . . .	30
Tons of beer . . . . .	4
Biscuit . . . . .	600
Oars for the longboat . . . . .	6

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has saylers, which has no meaning; it is probably a clerical error for saker shot.

*August.—SEYMOUR TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxv. 73.—Addressed. Endorsed in Edmonds' writing.  
Seal of the Seymour crest.]

Sir:—Since the time of my Lord Admiral's repair hither, I have had some leisure to peruse all your honourable letters, with them that come from my Lords; as<sup>1</sup> otherwise have examined all my own copies; wherein I find the sequel of this great cause long prepared doth not much vary from my own precedent private conjectured opinion; chiefly in respect of the Duke of Parma's exploits, the same never to be enterprised by his own particular strength, but always his attempts to proceed where he doth assure himself of faction or civil discord, or that he be otherwise supported of stronger forces than his own.

Now finding the capital enemy, the Spaniard, returned and brought even to his own home, with greater shame and disgrace than before he set out with pomp and glory, I imagine beforehand the dispute that may arise between the King and the Duke of Medina, [with] what controversies may grow upon the authors of this mighty preparation, what satisfaction the Duke of Parma can yield of this course only directed by him; for of these two principal generals, the two foresaid Dukes, the King must look to have a good account thereof, and to whom he shall incline. My opinion doth give me the Duke of Parma is like to bear the blame, who, I think, now may easily be entreated to make a division of the Low Countries with her Majesty.<sup>2</sup> But, to proceed further herein I will

<sup>1</sup> As = and.

<sup>2</sup> This is very like a suggestion of the proposal actually made in October by Palavicino to Parma. Motley, in giving an account

omit, and leave the same to your graver conceits, meaning now to answer your last received letters, wherein I find myself ever remembered by your honourable good care.

And, to prevent her Majesty's good and gracious favourable remembrance of me, if so be that among you it shall be resolved to proceed with the charge of another month's victuals, which is already prepared, let not my service be spared. Albeit you may sit sure this year for the King of Spain; yet, if you consider what I wrote in my last letters of the Duke of Parma, touching his desperate actions, finding himself foiled for not joining with the Duke of Medina, some unlooked-for enterprises to save his honour may be attempted for England, if we have a fair latter end of a summer; and with my conceit, could never heretofore be so far forth carried, but now, upon the recovery of his honour at this time balanced. And even so, with my very loving commendations, and all manner of well-wishing unto yourself, do take my leave. From aboard the Rainbow, her Majesty's most honourable ship, the<sup>1</sup>

of its reception by Parma, adds: 'There is neither proof nor probability that the Queen's government was implicated in this intrigue of Palavicino's' (*Hist. of United Netherlands*, ii. 512). There is certainly a probability that Walsingham had spoken of the matter to Palavicino, with a hint that he might sound Parma respecting it.

<sup>1</sup> The letter ends thus abruptly, without date or signature. The writing is that of Seymour's clerk, as in the letters to Howard and Walsingham of August 19 (*ante*, pp. 129, 130), and the mention of 'my Lord Admiral,' of 'the Rainbow,' as well as the seal and Edmonds' endorsement, leave no room for doubt as to its having been written and sent with Seymour's authority; but a very casual perusal will show how different the wording of it is from letters of Seymour's own writing, or under his signature. It may perhaps be supposed that he told his clerk the substance of what he wanted to say, but did not dictate it, and was absent when it was written and sent off.



## THE CHARGE OF CERTAIN SHIPS.

[ccxv. 75.—Signed. Endorsed :—The charge of certain ships sent to the seas by Sir John Gilberte to repair to the Admiral.]

A note of the charge of those ships sent unto the seas, for the supply of men to her Majesty's navy, the 22nd of July, 1588, and served one month.

The Roebuck victualled :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, for 6 medernixes <sup>1</sup> for the Roebuck . . . . .	7	4	0
Item, 1 hogshead of beef . . . . .	3	11	3
„ 600 of Irish fish, at 50s. the hundred	15	0	0
Sum	25	15	3

To the Chance, my Lord Admiral's pinnace, which came for powder &c., and victualled :—

	£	s.	d.
Item, from the town of Dartmouth, 126 iron shot of all sorts, weighing 1 cwt. <sup>2</sup> 1 qr. 10 lbs., at 12s. the hundred . . . . .	5	0	0
„ 2 hogsheads of beer . . . . .	1	0	0
„ 1 barrel of beef . . . . .	1	10	7
Sum	7	10	7

The Phoenix of Dartmouth, Mr. Gawen Cham-

<sup>1</sup> A medernix, which appears in these papers under many different spellings—meddernix, or nex, methernix, and mederinax—and as mildernix in 'An Act against the deceitful and false making of mildernix . . . whereof sail-cloths for the navy and other shipping are made' (1 Jac. I. c. 24)—was a bolt of canvas.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. Apparently in error for 8 cwt.

pernowne's<sup>1</sup> bark, burden 70 tons, with 50 men, and served one month :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, 4 barrels of powder, weighing 493 lbs., at 12 <i>d.</i> the pound . . . . .	24	13	0
Item, 81 pieces of beef . . . . .	2	0	0
„ 1 bushel of peas . . . . .	0	2	8
„ 100 of fish . . . . .	0	10	0
„ 1 cheese . . . . .	0	0	8
„ for match and oakum . . . . .	0	8	6
„ for 9 lbs. of spikes <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	0	1	6
„ for 7 oars of 18 foot . . . . .	1	6	0
„ for cross-bars and round shot . . . . .	0	13	4
„ for 10 cwt. of biscuit . . . . .	3	10	0
„ 2 tons of beer . . . . .	4	0	0
„ 7½ lbs. of plated lead . . . . .	0	1	3
„ for 24 lbs. of candles . . . . .	0	9	0
„ for all sorts of nails . . . . .	0	7	6
Sum <sup>3</sup>	38	3	5

Besides the ship and mariners.

JOHN GILBERTE.

The Command, Sir John Gilberte's ship, burden 120 tons, with 80 men, which served one month :—

	£	s.	d.
Item, 10 hogsheads of beer . . . . .	5	0	0
„ 1 hogshead of beef . . . . .	3	11	3
„ 100 of corr fish <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	2	0	0
„ 11 cwt. of biscuit . . . . .	3	17	0
„ 6 cwt. of powder . . . . .	30	0	0
„ 30 lbs of caliver powder . . . . .	1	15	0
„ 750 lbs. of round shot, chain shot, and cross-bars, at 12 <i>s.</i> the hun- dred . . . . .	4	10	0

<sup>1</sup> First cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh : son of his mother's younger brother, Sir Arthur Champernowne of Dartington.

<sup>2</sup> MS. spukes.

<sup>3</sup> Salt cod.

	£	s.	d.
Item, 22 lbs of match, at 6 <i>d.</i> the pound .	0	11	0
„ 6 yards of canvas for cartridges, at 10 <i>d.</i> the yard . . . .	0	5	0
„ 20 lbs. of candles . . . .	0	6	8
„ for 500 of wood . . . .	0	13	4
„ for all sorts of nails . . . .	0	10	6
„ 2 quarter cans . . . .	0	2	8
„ 54½ lbs. of plated lead . . . .	0	9	2
„ 1 barrel of butter, 200 weight .	2	10	0
Sum	56	1	8

Besides the ship and mariners.

The Elizabeth, Mr. Adrian Gilberte's<sup>1</sup> ship, burden 70 tons, with 60 men, and served 1 month :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, 20 cwt. of biscuit . . . .	7	0	0
Item, 6 tons of beer . . . .	12	0	0
„ 2 hogsheads of beef and one barrel of pork . . . .	9	12	6
„ 1,000 of dry fish . . . .	5	0	0
„ 1 cwt. of butter . . . .	1	5	0
„ 1 cwt. of cheese . . . .	0	18	0
„ 3 bushels of peas . . . .	0	10	0
„ 700 of wood . . . .	0	18	0
„ 411 pounds of powder . . . .	20	11	0
„ 30 pounds of candles . . . .	0	10	0
„ 500 <sup>2</sup> shot of all sorts . . . .	3	0	0
„ waist cloths and cartridges, 40 yards	2	0	0
„ 20 lbs. of match . . . .	0	10	0
Sum	63	14	6

Besides the ship and mariners.

The head of the mainmast, with the topmast, sail and shrouds, spent. JOHN GILBERTE.

<sup>1</sup> Brother of Sir John.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. It would seem to mean 500 lbs. of shot at 12s. the 100.



The Samaritan of Dartmouth, burden 300 tons, with 150 men, which served one month :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, 39½ cwt. of biscuit . . . . .	[1]3	16	6
Item, 30 hogsheads of beer . . . . .	14	0	0
„ 1,000 of dry fish . . . . .	5	0	0
„ 1 hogshead of pork . . . . .	5	0	0
„ 60 lbs. of candles . . . . .	1	0	0
„ 800 of wood . . . . .	0	16	6
„ 12 bushels of peas . . . . .	2	0	0
„ 30 lbs. of match . . . . .	0	15	0
„ of round shot and cross-bars, 700 . . . . .	4	0	0
„ 1 piece of lead, 110 lbs. . . . .	0	10	10
„ platters and dishes . . . . .	0	4	4
Sum	47	3	2

Besides the ship and mariners.

JOHN GILBERTE.

### SIR H. PALAVICINO'S RELATION.<sup>1</sup>

[ccxv. 77.—Italian. A peculiarly neat writing, the same as many of Palavicino's letters. Endorsed (in the writing of Edmonds):—Sir Horatio Palavicino: relation of the proceeding of our fleet with the Spanish navy. August 1588.]

Relation of the voyage of the Spanish armada, which departed from Lisbon to assail the kingdom of England :—

The Spanish fleet parted from Lisbon on the 29th of May, *stilo novo*, in number 130 sails great and small, with four galleasses of Naples and four galleys of Portugal, under the charge of the Duke

<sup>1</sup> As Palavicino went from Portsmouth on July 26, and presumably got on board the Ark in time for the battle of the 29th, it is curious to note the many inaccuracies in his relation, not only as to preceding events, which he heard of, but as to the later ones, which he witnessed.

of Medina Sidonia, general of the enterprise, with 25 or 30 thousand men, as well soldiers as mariners, and many noblemen.

They sailed for the port of the Groyne in Galicia, where they would receive some soldiers, munition and victuals; it being also the haven most near and convenient for passing into England. But in this voyage they had foul weather, which scattered them, so that when the Duke of Medina Sidonia arrived at the haven, he was not accompanied with more than 80 vessels, or thereabouts; which occasioned a longer stay, for that the rest came together only by little and little, and divers of them were wanting, amongst which were the four galleys of Portugal, whereof three suffered shipwreck on the coast of Bayonne in France, and the fourth with great difficulty recovered a certain haven.<sup>1</sup> And of the ships, there remained behind eight, which having spent their masts in the violence of the storm, they returned to Lisbon unable for the voyage. All the rest of the army, having refreshed and ordered themselves in the Groyne, and receiving continually commandment from the King to set out, they set sail on the 11th of July, according to our computation, and with a favourable wind arrived, on the 19th of the same, off of the Cape of Cornwall, in this kingdom, where it was first discovered by one of our pinnaces, and shortly afterward by the guard of the castle of Falmouth; intelligence whereof was carried to the Lord Admiral, who was in the haven of Plymouth with our fleet, having the conceit that the Spanish army would not come this year, because that the season was now almost past, and also of the

<sup>1</sup> It was so reported in England (*ante*, p. 132), but falsely (see App. E). The confusion between the first voyage, to Corunna, and the second, from Corunna, would seem to be Palavicino's own.

storm which should have spoiled them, and of the victual which was reported to be wasted ; so as he had great difficulty to bring some part of the ships out of the haven and to send the men aboard ; for that, the wind being fair for the Spanish army, he had sight of them the same evening, when as they were close to the port, with the intention of entering there and overcoming them, if they had not perceived our fleet. Thus, their intention being prevented, they proceeded on their voyage amongst the Channel. The whole of our fleet came out and followed them, often fighting with them and delaying their progress, because that they sailed in close order, without extending themselves.

The next day the fighting was hotter than on those which preceded it.<sup>1</sup> One of our ships beat their galleasses, and was the cause that divers of their fleet were spoiled, so as, during the fight, a galleon of Seville, vice-admiral of the enemy's fleet, broke her mainmast<sup>2</sup> ; and a ship laden with munition of war<sup>3</sup> caught fire, so as her upper works were blown out, and she remained unable for the voyage, and a short time afterward was made a prize by our men. The aforesaid galleon likewise remained unable to follow their fleet, and was taken by our men. There were in her 450 men ; the captain of her, which was Don Pedro de Valdes, accompanied with two gentlemen of quality, were all made prisoners ; also a great part of the King's treasure fell into the hands of our men.

When the fleets had come as far as the Isle of Wight, ours had grown daily because of the many ships and men which came to it from all sides ; where there was another fight, which continued

<sup>1</sup> Le precedenti.

<sup>2</sup> Il maggior albero. Cf. *ante*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Una nave carica di munitione di guerra. Cf. *ante*, p. 56.



several hours, wherein our men more certainly perceived that the Spanish army wished not to fight, and held themselves straitly to defence, with no other intention than to arrive at the place appointed for them. During the whole voyage the wind was favourable for them, so as, notwithstanding the stay caused by the bickerings and by divers calms, they arrived on the evening of the 27th of the aforesaid month, by our account, off the port of the town of Calais in France, where they anchored toward Dunkirk, from whence they expected the succour of the Duke of Parma his forces. Our fleet likewise anchored opposite to them, and the same evening were joined by other ships, to the number of 20, which had been guarding the mouth of Thames; so as the number of them amounted to near 140 sails. On the 28th of the said month, being Sunday, there was held a consultation in what manner the enemy's fleet might be moved from their place, and would be fought withal. It was resolved to prepare certain ships with fireworks, and to endeavour to burn them in the road, or to force them to put to the seas, thereby to fight with them. To this end six ships were made ready, and two hours after midnight, the tide and wind being favourable, they drew as near the enemy as they could, where they were fired; which was no sooner seen by the enemy, than they were seized with such great alarm as suddenly they cut all their cables; in which confusion, the chief of the four galleasses became entangled among certain other ships by her rudder, and was driven by the current on to the shoals which are before the port of Calais, where she was followed by our pinnaces and barks, and was fought withal and overcome. Many Spaniards were there slain by the sword, and many were thrown overboard and drowned, but some were saved by swimming into the haven of Calais.

The captain-general, Don Hugo de Moncada, was likewise slain. Then was everything movable taken away, and such part of the King's treasure as was therein. The ship rested without value, which our men would have burnt it, if the governor of Calais had not prevented them, alleging the hurt it should cause to the town.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in the early morning our fleet assailed the enemy, which had put to sea, as aforesaid, in disorder, but had afterward arranged themselves in their usual<sup>2</sup> order of fight. There were made several very hot charges, and a great quantity of ordnance was fired on one side and on the other. Our fleet had the wind throughout, and gave always occasion to the enemy to open out and to fight; but they chose rather to be followed and to bear away, as well from Calais as from Dunkirk, than to open out and permit the fight to become general, so as it was not convenient to attack them thus together and in close order, for that our ships, being of smaller size, would have had much disadvantage; but in the continued assaults which they gave on them without entering, they made them to feel our ordnance; and if any ship was beaten out of their fleet, she was surrounded and suddenly separated from the rest. Amongst which, two galleons of Portugal, called the San Felipe and the San Mateo, were dispersed and so spoiled as, being unable to follow their fleet, and being almost full of water, they both fell the next day into the hands of our men, who conducted them to Flushing, having found [few] of their men living, who were all

<sup>1</sup> Allegando il pregiudizio del suo porto. This is repeated in almost the same words in Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Wynter says (*ante*, p. 10) in 'a half moon,' which, therefore, Palavicino understood to be their 'usual' order. This agrees with Pine's illustrations.

made prisoners, together with Don Diego de Pimentel, maestro de campo of the regiment of Sicilia, with divers gentlemen of quality. There was also therein a part of the King's treasure, which was sacked by the soldiers. In this same fight a great Biscayan ship was likewise dispersed from the fleet and sunk. There were also sunk two or three other ships of the enemy, so as they lost in that fight, besides the galleass, five or six great ships, and were pursued ten or twelve leagues beyond Dunkirk, being sorely beaten by our ordnance.

The next day they were driven farther, because, the same wind continuing to blow, they never endeavoured to force their way back, notwithstanding that they were not assailed.

On the next day, being the 31st, and also on the 1st of August, they had the same wind, but stronger. Then the enemy resolved to set all their sails, and by fleeing from the combat to secure their safety by flight. Nevertheless, for that it was doubted they might bear for Scotland, they were followed by our fleet not more than a cannon-shot off; which continued till the evening of Friday, the 2nd of August, when the fleets were thwart of Berwick,<sup>1</sup> where the enemy clearly showed their intention to hold another course, drawing northwards toward Norway, leaving Scotland on the left hand, and thus incurring the danger of a long navigation; wherein, because it would not have been prudent for our fleet to follow them in their peril, it returned home to the port of Harwich; which resolution was approved by the success, for that on the next Sunday, being the 4th of the month, there arose a great storm, which continued forty hours, the effects of which on the enemy's fleet as yet we know

<sup>1</sup> Essendo le armate pervenute sin nel mare fra l' Inghilterra e la Scotia. Cf. *ante*, p. 64.



not, but it is probable that they are dispersed and have suffered a great deal.

To conclude: the enemy, without having attempted anything, have lost 11 or 12 of their best ships, that we know of; four to five thousand men; three parts of the King's treasure, which was divided amongst five vessels; are reduced to great extremity, not having a drop of water nor much victual, and very many sick, as all the prisoners report; so as there is every appearance that very few of either ships or men will return into Spain.

#### NOTE OF CERTAIN PLUNDER.

[ccxv. 78.—Endorsed :—A note of the apparel taken by Captain Cely from the Spanish prisoners in Bridewell.]

Of Doctor Gongora: a girdle and a pair of hangers<sup>1</sup> embroidered with gold and silver.

Of the ancient bearer Luis de Ribera: a blue cloak of rash,<sup>2</sup> with a gold lace round about it; a pair breeches of murrey tinsel of silk, with a gold lace; and a buff jerkin, laid over likewise with gold lace.

Of the sergeant Pelegrin: a pair of blue velvet hose, with a gold and silver lace; and a jerkin of wrought velvet, lined with taffety.

Of the sergeant Marcos de Biber: a jerkin of rash, lined with green taffety; a pair of breeches of blue satin, laid with a gold lace; with a cloak of rash, with a gold lace round about it.

<sup>1</sup> Sword slings.

<sup>2</sup> Rash is differently described as a smooth cloth, a coarse serge, and a glossy silk fabric. It would seem here to mean the cloth.

Of Don Sancho Pardo<sup>1</sup>: a pair of breeches of yellow satin, drawn out with cloth of silver.

Of the ancient bearer Cristobal de Leon: a leather jerkin, perfumed with amber, and laid over with a gold and silver lace.

Of Alonso de la Serna<sup>2</sup>: a coloured cloak, with a gold lace round about it; a pair of breeches of cloth of gold; a jerkin, embroidered with flowers, and laid over with a gold lace.

Of Diego de Carmona: a pair of breeches of cloth of gold, laid over with three gold laces.

Of Juan Becerill: a pair of black wrought velvet breeches.

Of the ancient bearer Bermudo: a cloak mandillion<sup>3</sup>; and breeches of rash, laid over all with gold lace; and a blue stitched taffety hat, with a silver band and a plume of feathers.

Of Santiago: a pair of black velvet breeches.

Of Mateo de Fries: a pair of black satin breeches

### BOOK OF CHARGES.

[ccxv. 88.—Signed.]

Portsmouth.—A book mentioning such charges as were required to the setting forth of certain ships<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This can scarcely be Sancho Pardo Osorio (Duro, ii. 189, 191), a man of too high rank to have been consigned to Bridewell. Possibly the Alferes Sancho de Paredes (*ib.* ii. 73).

<sup>2</sup> Duro, ii. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Mandillion = mantle; 'a cloak mandillion' would seem to be a large cloak. —So Chapman, *Iliads*, x. 120:

'About him a mandillion . . .

Of purple, large and full of folds, curled with a warmful nap,  
A garment that 'gainst cold in nights did soldiers use to wrap.'

<sup>4</sup> As these ships were still at Portsmouth on July 29 and later—the flyboat on August 11—they had no active part in the campaign. Except the Dragon, they were all discharged as soon

in her Majesty's service, when the Spanish fleet was upon our coast.

*Abstract.*

[The charges, certified by the Earl of Sussex, are for victuals and stores for the :

Dragon, of the Earl of Cumberland's, Mr. John Winckfield captain, William Maddocke master gunner, Morris Jones boatswain, 106*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; and include beef at 13*s.* 4*d.* the hundred; beer, 32*s.* the tun; other beer at 28*s.*; dry fish at 12*s.* the hundred; large bank fish at 36*s.* the hundred; biscuit at 6*s.* 8*d.* the hundred; a quille of ropes weighing 25 lbs., at 23*s.* the hundred; 'four hundred of bricks, to make up the Dragon's hearth and back, at 15*d.* the hundred.'

	£	s.	d.
Scout . . . . .	5	9	11
Flyboat, Thomas Clyffe captain . . . . .	12	18	6
Blessing . . . . .	9	3	11
Gift of God of Lowestoft . . . . .	10	5	8

*Summa totalis* of the charge of the  
whole book is . . . . . 144 15 6]

These victuals were delivered by John Jennens of Portsmouth, for the victualling of 4 ships sent to the Lord Admiral by the Earl of Sussex.

SUSSEX.

*September 4.—HAWKYNS TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxvi. 3.—Holograph. Addressed :—For her Majesty's affairs.]

Right Honourable my very good Lord:—At this instant all her Majesty's ships arrived and met together in the Downs, Sir W. Wynter and I gave order to know what company of men were left in the ships; and there was notice brought unto us from as they joined the fleet (see *ante*, p. 195); and as the book is long, it seems unnecessary to print it in detail.

every ship of their companies they had at this present,<sup>1</sup> which I note to your Lordship herewith; and this is the first hour that there was any mean to do any thing in this matter.

At Chatham :

The Elizabeth Jonas	The Mary Rose .	160
Triumph . . . 325	Bonaventure .	200
Bear . . . 260	Lion . . .	180
Victory . . . 250	Revenge .	176
Ark . . . 274	Nonpareil .	180
	Hope . . .	250

Narrow Seas :

The Vanguard . . . 250	The Tramontana .	70
Rainbow . . . 230	Moon . . .	40
Dreadnought . . 150	Charles . . .	35
Swiftsure . . . 120	Spy . . .	35
Antelope . . . 160	Advice . . .	26
Swallow . . . 125	Merlin . . .	35
Foresight . . . 110	Galley . . .	250
Aid . . . 120	Brigandine .	36
Bull . . . 96	White Lion .	50
Tiger . . . 90	Disdain . . .	30
Scout . . . 70	Fancy . . .	20
Achates . . . 60		

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4,453<sup>2</sup>

These be the ships that remain in her Majesty's pay, and this is the company they have at this instant, which are in all 4,453. The companies do fall sick daily. It is not fit for me to persuade in so great a cause; but I see no reason to doubt the Spanish fleet, and our ships utterly unfitted and unmeet to

<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the numbers here shown with the complements of the several ships—*e.g.*, Triumph 500, Bear 500—would seem to give a measure of the fearful sickness and mortality.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS. The correct sum is 4,463.



follow any enterprise from hence without a thorough new trimming, refreshing and new furnishing with provisions, grounding and fresh men ; and so, with all duty, I humbly take my leave. From aboard the Ark, in the Downs, the 4th of September, 1588.

Your Honour's most bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNS.

I have no time to write to my Lord Admiral. Your Lordship may satisfy him at your pleasure.

*September 6.—HAWKYNS TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxvi. 4.—Holograph. Addressed :—For her Majesty's service.]

I do send your Honour the book which I received from your Honour for the coast ships. There are many more besides these, whereof I think to be able to give a reason for at my coming to the Court, which are also to be considered with pay from the country or from her Majesty ; but that is a long matter, and will require mine own presence.

My Lord Treasurer, I understand, hath not been pleased for that I could not send his Lordship the certain number of such men as were in her Majesty's pay. The truth is the weather was such, and so cruel, as I could not ferry from ship to ship a long time ; and the fleet was dispersed, some at Dover, some at Margate, and some to seek out the great Spaniard upon the coast of France ; but now, the 4th of September, all the fleet met in the Downs, and presently, within two hours, I sent my Lord a perfect note, which was near about 4,300 men that remained in pay.

I would to God I were delivered of the dealing for money, and then I doubt not but I should as well deserve and continue my Lord's good liking as any

man of my sort ; but now I know I shall never please his Lordship two months together, for which I am very sorry, for I am sure no man living hath taken more pain nor been more careful to obtain and continue his Lordship's good liking and favour towards him than I have been. My pain and misery in this service is infinite. Every man would have his turn served, though very unreasonable ; yet if it be refused, then, adieu friendship. I yield to many things more than there is whereof, and yet it will not satisfy many. God, I trust, will deliver me of it ere it be long, for there is no other hell. I devise to ease charge and shorten what I can, for which I am in a general misliking ; but my Lord Treasurer thinketh I do little, but I assure your Honour I am seldom idle.

I marvel we doubt the Spaniards. Surely there can be no cause ; and we put our ships in great peril, for they are unfitted of many things, and unmeet for service till they pass a new furnishing, both of men, grounding, and reforming of a world<sup>1</sup> of provisions, as it will be felt when we shall set forth again. The discourse which I wrote your Honour in December last<sup>2</sup> must take effect, and so her Majesty's charge shall cease, the coast of Spain and all his traffics impeached and afflicted, and our people set awork contented and satisfied in conscience ; and there is no other way to avoid the misery that daily groweth among our people. And so, being ever fatigated<sup>3</sup> with a number of troubles, I humbly take my leave. From the Downs, aboard the Victory, the 5th of September, 1588.

Your Honour's ever assured and bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

<sup>1</sup> MS. woreld.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccvi. 61. He repeated it on February 1 ; see vol. i. p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> MS. fattygatyd : fatigued, wearied.

*September 8.—TOMSON'S STATEMENT.*

[ccxvi. 9.—Holograph. Endorsed :—The speech that passed between D. Pedro de Valdes and Ri. Tomson.]

I certified Don Pedro de Valdes that the Lords of the Council were, of their honourable inclinations, intended to take some favourable course for the releasing of the soldiers and mariners taken in his ship, by way of ransom, so far forth as he could procure some means for the levying of such sum of money as the same should arise unto, either by his letter to the Prince of Parma or any other his friends in the Low Countries, from whence the said ransom might be the most soonest provided.

Don Pedro, with the rest of the prisoners, seemed to be very glad that their Honours did vouchsafe them that favour, adding that it was a clemency sufficient to mollify the hardest heart of any enemy ; that the news was as joyful unto them as if it had been tidings of their own liberty, in respect that the said poor people were raised by them and were their neighbours, and came in this employment for the love and zeal that they bare unto them ; for that if they should perish by long imprisonment or other want, it would be unto them more grievous than all other accidents that might happen to themselves. And said that they hoped, as their Honours had been moved to show them this courtesy, and the poor people this pity, so their Honours would consider that they are very poor men serving the King for four, six, and eight crowns a month, and that according to the same their Honours would appoint the ransom.

I answered that your Honours, as you were moved in charity to release them, so you did not mind to



impose upon the poorer sort anything that should seem over burdenous. Notwithstanding as your pleasures was to let go the inferior sort for a month's pay or something more in respect of their charges, so likewise your Honours were determined to make a difference between the meaner sort and such as were officers that had a larger pension of the King, and they should be dealt withal according to their ways and calling. And further, that some such as were found to be of quality and well friended in Spain should be detained, and exchanged for others her Majesty's subjects in prison and in the galleys of Spain, or else released for sums answerable to their vocations.

They confessed that there were amongst them that had 15, 12, and 10 crowns a month, and that if such were limited according to their entertainment, it were but reason. And for any other that your Honours thought expedient to have detained in exchange of Englishmen in Spain, the cause is both reasonable and just.

They all desire your Honours to continue this favourable mind to their poor men, of whose misery they stand in great doubt if they should remain in prison until the cold of the winter approacheth; and say that in having answer from your Honours what number shall be released, and for what sum, that then, your Honours giving leave, they will write to the Prince of Parma or the Spanish ambassador in France for the provision of the money; and say that if it may stand with your Honours' pleasure to permit a prisoner to go with the said letters to solicit the matter, it should be a great furtherance for the speedy despatch thereof, as also to procure that shipping may be sent from thence to carry the said poor men into Spain. And this is the effect of so much as I have dealt with the said Don



Pedro and his company. At Esher, Sunday, the 8th of September, 1588.

Your Honours' according to duty,  
RICHARD TOMSON.

*September 8.—DON PEDRO DE VALDES TO  
WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxvi. 10.—Englished.]

There hath been with me, in the name of the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, Richard Tomson, to inform me of the favours which her Majesty is pleased to extend to the prisoners that came in the ship whereof I had charge ; that is, that they shall be delivered for one month's ransom apiece, according to the rate of their several pay. And for that I do perceive that this good work cometh chiefly by your Honour's procure, for the which I humbly thank you as for a singular favour ; and to the end that the matter may be brought to effect with such speed as is requisite, I think it would be necessary that there were some one sent to the Duke of Parma with my letters of credit, to deal for the said ransom and for shipping for transportation of the prisoners into Spain. And because your Honour hath been the worker of that which is begun, I beseech [you <sup>1</sup>] also to be a means to their Lordships to accept my word that the party to be sent shall return with safety, within the time to be limited, if God dispose not otherwise of him. And so, hoping that your Honour will in this continue your good favours towards us, I pray God &c. Esher, the 8th of September, 1588.

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in MS.

*September 10.—SIR J. POPHAM TO BURGHLEY.*

[Ireland, cxxxvi. 34.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My duty unto your Lordship most humbly remembered:—For that it is taken to be of importance here to certify unto your Lordship and the rest of the Lords what hath happened here, by the arrival of sundry of the ships of the Spanish fleet on the north-west coast of this realm, with all expedition, the Lord Chief Justice Anderson and others here thought it best to despatch away a servant of mine, this bearer, with the same in one of the barks stayed here for the Chief Justice's return into England. The advertisements are, that on Thursday last, and sithence that time, there arrived first a bark, which wrecked at the Bay of Tralee, another great ship being also now near that place; after that, two great ships and one frigate at the Blaskets in the Sound there; seven other sail in the Shannon, by Karryg-ni-Cowly,<sup>1</sup> whereof two are taken to be of a thousand tons apiece, two more of 400 tons the piece, and three small barks; at the Lupus Head<sup>2</sup> four great ships, and toward the Bay of Galway four great ships more. It is thought that the rest of that fleet wherein the Duke was, which were severed by a late tempest, are also about some other part of this land. Before they were last severed, it seemeth, by the Spaniards taken, there were not passing 70 sail left. The people in these parts are for the most part dangerously affected towards the Spaniards, but thanks be to God that their power, by her Majesty's good means, is shorter than it hath been, and that the Spaniards' forces are so much weakened as they are, whereby there is no great doubt had here of

<sup>1</sup> Probably Carrigaholt.

<sup>2</sup> Loop Head.

any hurt that may grow thereby, although they use all the diligence and provision they may to provide for and prevent the worst of it.

[The rest of the letter refers to Irish business.]

*September 12.—EXAMINATIONS<sup>1</sup> OF SPANISH PRISONERS.*

[ccxvi. 17.—Englished. Endorsed :—The examinations of the Spaniards and Portingals sent from Dingle-i-couch. Other copies of these examinations are enclosures in Ireland, cxxxvi. 41, 42, and 43.]

The examination of Emanuel Fremoso,<sup>2</sup>  
a Portingal.

He saith he was in the ship called St. John, of the Port<sup>3</sup> of Portugal, of one thousand one hundred tons, in which Don Martinez de Recalde is admiral of the whole fleet, and is next under the Duke, which is general ; in which ship, at her coming forth, there were 800 soldiers ; and for mariners, 60 Portugals and 40 Biscayans. This is the greatest ship of the whole navy. He saith they were in all, at their coming forth, 135 sail, whereof some were galleasses, some galleys, and 9 of them were

<sup>1</sup> Interesting as these examinations are, it is very easy to exaggerate their importance. In reading them, it should be remembered—first, that the men were common seamen, without any opportunity of knowing the things they deposed to ; second, that they were half dead with cold and hunger and half mad with terror, expecting that death which fell on most of them, and ready to say anything which they thought might be pleasant to their captors ; and third, that the interpreter, David Gwynn, was proved to be a liar and a scoundrel (see *post*, October 18, 19), and very probably did not know Spanish or Portuguese so well as he pretended.

<sup>2</sup> The name is differently written—Fernnoys, Fermoyes, and Fremoso.

<sup>3</sup> Oporto.

victuallers. They came from the Groyne on the 15th day<sup>1</sup> next after midsummer last past, by their account. He saith they were directed to the Duke of Parma, and by him to be employed for England at such time as Parma should appoint.

He saith, after their departure from the Groyne about 8 days, the fleet came to the Lizard. He saith, about that place the general strake sail, whereupon they all strake sail all night, and the next morning they saw the English fleet, whereupon they hoisted their sails. He saith they were before informed that the English fleet was in Plymouth and Dartmouth. He saith, on the north-east of the Lizard the first fight began between the fleets, and in that fight their ship lost 15 men. He saith that there were other fights in a four or five days after, along the coasts, in which the ship this examine was in lost 25 men. What were lost in those fights out of the other ships he cannot tell. And in those fights they lost two ships: the one in which Don Pedro was, and another, that was burned.

They anchored at Calais, expecting the Duke of Parma; where, through the firing of the English ships, they were driven to leave their anchors, and to depart; so as each of the ships lost two anchors at that place. The next morning the fight began about eight of the clock in the morning, and continued eight hours along the channel to the north; all which time the English fleet pursued the Spanish fleet, in such sort as if they had offered to board the Spanish fleet, he saw their admiral so fearful, he thinketh they had all yielded.

He saith that in the same fight the Spanish fleet lost one galleass, which ran ashore about

<sup>1</sup> This absurd date, which appears in all the copies, is very likely a blunder of the interpreter's.



Calais ; two galleons of Lisbon, which were sunk, and one Biscay ship sunk, of between four and five hundred tons, and one other ship sunk also. After which fight the general took account of the whole navy, and found that there were left 120 sail of the whole fleet, as was delivered by those that came from the top ; but of his own sight he saw not passing four score and five sail, or thereabouts ; but what was become of the rest he cannot tell.

He saith that there were also in that fight three great Venetian ships which were in danger of sinking, being sore beaten and shot through in many places, but were for that time holpen by the carpenters ; and, as he hath heard, for that they were not able to keep the seas, took themselves towards the east<sup>1</sup> of Flanders, but what is become of them he cannot tell. He saith they were pursued by some of the English fleet about five days after this fight, northward, out of the sight of any land, and, as he thinketh, off the north part of Scotland.

He saith that about four days next after the English fleet left them, the whole fleet remaining being towards 120 sail, as it was said, came to an island, as he thinketh, off the north part of Scotland, where they staid not nor had any relief ; but at this place the general called all the ships together, giving them in charge that they should with the best they could haste themselves to the first place they could get to of the coast of Spain or Portugal ; for that they were in such great distress through the great want of victuals. And otherwise he saith they came forth the worst furnished thereof, for that they expected to be relieved of those things more amply by the Duke of Parma.

He saith that out of this ship there died four or five every day of hunger and thirst, and yet this

<sup>1</sup> So in MSS. It would seem to be in error for 'coast.'

ship was one that was best furnished for victuals ; which he knoweth, for out of four of the other ships, some people were sent to be relieved in this ship.

After this, for a ten days, the whole fleet remaining held together, holding their course the best they could towards Spain. He saith that at the same time, which is now about 20 days or more past, they were severed by a great storm, which held from four of the clock in the afternoon of one day to ten of the clock in the morning of the next day, in which storm the admiral came away with 27 sail, and that one of them was a galleass of 28 oars a-side. What is become of the rest of the navy, he cannot tell. He saith, also, that about ten days past they had another great storm with a mist, by which storm they were again severed, so as of these 27 sail there came into the coast of Dingle-i-couch but the admiral,<sup>1</sup> another ship of 400 ton, and a bark about 40 ton ; and what is become of the rest of those 27 sail he knows not, but of one great hulk of 400 ton, which was so spoiled as she cast towards the shore about 20 leagues from Dingle-i-couch. He knoweth not who was captain of this hulk.

He saith that, of all sorts, there be now remaining in the admiral<sup>1</sup> near about 500 men, of which there be 25 Basques<sup>2</sup> and 40 Portingals which are mariners ; the master being very sick, and one of the pilots. He saith there be 800 soldiers and 20 of the mariners in the admiral very sick, and do lie down and die daily, and the rest, he saith, be all very weak, and the captain very sick and weak.

He saith this admiral<sup>1</sup> hath in her 54 brass pieces and about 800 quintals of powder.

He saith they were so near the coast before they

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the word 'admiral' means either the man or his ship : here it is the ship.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Biskes, Biskerns.

found it, that by means of the strong westerly wind they were not able to double out from it. There is in this admiral left but 25 pipes of wine, and very little bread ; and no water, but what they brought out of Spain, which stinketh marvellously ; and their flesh meat they cannot eat, their drouth<sup>1</sup> is so great. He saith no part of the navy, to his knowledge, ever touched upon any land, until such time as they came to this coast at Dingle-i-couch<sup>2</sup> ; nor hath had any water, victual, or other relief, from any coast or place sithence the English fleet left them.

He saith that when they lay before Calais there came a pinnace to their fleet from the Duke of Parma, who told them the Duke could not be ready for them until the Friday following ; but by reason of this fight of the English fleet with them they were not able to tarry there so long.

He saith that the admiral's purpose is, upon the first wind that serveth, to pass away for Spain. He saith also that it is a common bruit among the soldiers, if they may once get home again, they will not meddle again with the English. He saith there be of principal men in the admiral, Don John de Luna,<sup>3</sup> a Spaniard, which is chief captain of the soldiers of that ship ; Don Gomes, a Spaniard, another captain ; Don Sebastian, a Portingal gentleman, an adventurer, and a marquis, an Italian, who is also an adventurer ; and another Portingal, whom he knoweth not ; but that they are principal men, that had crosses on their garments. Other mean gentlemen there be also in the said ship. He saith all the soldiers in this ship were Spaniards.

<sup>1</sup> MS. druth : thirst.

<sup>2</sup> The old Irish name is given as Dangean-ni-Cushey, which is frequently transformed in these papers into Dengenechoush, in various spellings. The modern name is commonly shortened to Dingle.

<sup>3</sup> Duro, ii. 39.



He saith there are in the small bark that is with them about 25 persons. How many are in the hulk that is there, he knoweth not.

He saith he thinketh that the Duke is passed towards Spain, for that he was seen 12 leagues more westerly than the admiral was in the last storm. He saith that the great galleon, which came from the Duke of Florence, was never seen sithence they were in the fight at Calais. He saith the people of the galleass were most spoiled by the English fleet.

Emanuel Francisco examined, saith in all things as the former examine till the fight at Calais ; in which fight he saith he knoweth there was left a galleass, that ran ashore at Calais ; two galleons of the King's, the one called St. Philip of the Brando, the other called St. Matthew, of 800, a Biscay ship of about 500, and a Castile ship of about 400, all sunk.

This he knoweth for that some of the men of those ships were divided into the admiral's ship, in which this examine was.

He saith after this fight ended, it was delivered by him at the top that there was 120 sail left of the Spanish fleet, and saith that those were very sore beaten, and the admiral was many times shot through ; and are shot in their mast, and their deck at the prow spoiled ; and doth confess that they were in great fear of the English fleet, and doubted much of boarding. He saith the admiral's mast is so weak, by reason of the shot in it, as they dare not abide any storm, nor to bear such sail as otherwise he might do ; and for the rest, he agreeth in everything with the former examine, saving he saw not, nor understood not, of any pinnace that came from the Parma, nor remember that he saw above 20 sail with the admiral after the first storm ; and saith that those in the



ship that he is in do say that they will go into the ground sooner than they will come such a journey again for England ; and saith the best that be in the admiral's ship are scarce able to stand ; and that if they tarry where they are any time they will all perish, as he thinketh. And for himself, he would not pass into Portugal again if he might choose, for that he would not be constrained to such another journey.

John de Licornio, of Lekyte<sup>1</sup> in Biscay, mariner, saith he was in the ship that the admiral is in ; and that he told<sup>2</sup> the navy after the fight ended at Calais, and that there were then remaining not passing 110 or 112 of the whole Spanish fleet left ; and saith that a leak<sup>3</sup> fell upon one of the galleasses about 15 days past, which he taketh to be fallen upon the north coast of this land.

He saith he doth not remember that there [were] above 20 sail left in the company of the admiral after the first great storm which fell on them, about 30 days sithence. He saith the Duke did give them express commandment that they should not go in any place on land without his order.

He confesseth the navy that remained after the last fight were marvellously beaten and shot through, and the tackle much cut and spoiled with the shot ; and for the rest of the matters, he agreeth with the former examine in every point in effect, and saith there was an English pilot with the Duke.

He saith that the Scot that is taken was taken in the north part, after the English fleet parted from them, in a ship of 500 ton (in which was about 12<sup>4</sup> men), which the fleet hath carried with them, both the ship and people. Six of the Scots were aboard

<sup>1</sup> Lequeitio.

<sup>2</sup> Counted.

<sup>3</sup> MS. leck.

<sup>4</sup> So in MSS.

the admiral, whereof one is he that is taken. He saith, after the English fleet parted from them, the Spanish fleet cast out all their horses and mules into the sea, to save their water ;<sup>1</sup> which were carried in certain hulks provided for that purpose.

Pier o Carr,<sup>2</sup> a Fleming, examined the 10th of September, 1588. Examined from what port in Spain he came, he saith from Lisbon, and that there came at the same time therehence 133 ships, wherein he saith there were two and twenty thousand soldiers, besides mariners, whose certain number he knoweth not. The general of the army, he saith, is the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and that they were all bound towards the Prince of Parma ; and after his forces taken in, they meant to come for England. In their way they met with the Queen's fleet and navy near Plymouth, who pursued them to the coast of Scotland, where the English fleet returned from them ; and they being then about one hundred and eighteen ships, and not knowing at that time in what part they were. Of the ships then left, there were two Venetians of 11 or 12 hundred tons apiece ; and 9 other ships about 900 or 1,000 tons apiece ; 16 ships out of Sicily, of 600 or 700 tons apiece ; the rest, in particular, he cannot recite. Of the ship that he was in, called St. John, a galleon, 900 tons, whereof is captain John Martinez de Recalde, vice-admiral of 20 ships, next in government unto the Duke, in which ship was 500 soldiers. There are two hundred dead : twenty slain in the fight with the Queen's ships, the rest dead of the sickness. What is lost by the rest of the ships he knoweth not.

Twenty days since he departed with 12 ships more from the Duke, he having with him about

<sup>1</sup> So also Duro, ii. 286.

<sup>2</sup> So in MSS.

46 ships, from the which they were severed by tempest.

They lost the Duke upon the coast of Norway, and they were wind driven upon this coast, their ships being much spoiled with the English fleet. The Duke, he saith, by this time is in Spain, unless he be taken on the seas ; and ever after his departure from the English fleet intended to go back to Spain, being frightened and dismayed.

How many ships are lost he do not certainly know, but he verily thinketh that half the number of people do not return that came out in this army.

One galleass was lost at Calais, wherein was fifty <sup>1</sup> rowers and a great number of soldiers. There was slain Don Francisco Pacheco, master of the camp. Don Pedro de Valdes, a man of great account with the King, was taken with the ship, being of very great burden. Who else are taken or lost, he knoweth not. His coming this way was to seek Cape Clear, therehence to make into Spain.

They never heard from the Prince of Parma, nor ever had any favour or intelligence from any since their coming from Spain, to his knowledge.

In the ship that he came in thither, besides the vice-admiral before named, there are five captains, Don John Luna, Don Gomes de Galanayar,<sup>2</sup> Don Pedro de Manrique, the Count of Paredes, Don Felice. There is also there an Italian marquis of Piedmont, called the Marquis of Farnara.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gwynn ought to have known better than this. What was said was, no doubt, fifty oars.

<sup>2</sup> Carvajal (Duro, ii. 333) : r and l are frequently interchanged ; and the confusion between u and n is still common.

<sup>3</sup> Garres (*ib.* ii. 66), where he is styled *cuñado*—brother-in-law of the Duke of Savoy ; but the Duke had no legitimate sister, and was married to the daughter. of the King of Spain.

In the other ship at the Dengen,<sup>1</sup> being 600 or 700 tons, who are in her he knoweth not.

The third hath but 40 men in her, and is about 40 tons.

They have bread sufficient ; their beef is corrupt ; water they want ; many of them are sick.

Re-examined the 12th of September, 1588, he saith the navy of the Spaniards were so far north as unto sixty-two degrees. He saith, also, that the admiral, after such time as the fight was at Calais, came not out of his bed till this day sennight, in the morning that they came upon this shore.

He saith this admiral is of Biscay, either of Bilbao or Laredo, and of 62 years of age, and a man of service. He saith that there were in this navy, of old soldiers of Naples, under the conduction of Don Alonso de Sono,<sup>2</sup> and of the old soldiers of Sicilia, under the conduction of Don Diego de Pimentel,<sup>3</sup> whose ship was lost at Calais. There was also Don Alonso de Leyva, master of the camp, of the chivalry of Milan. He saith there is a bastard son of King Philip, called the Prince of Ascoli in Italy, in ship with the Duke. This Prince passed from them in a pinnace about Calais.

<sup>1</sup> Dingle.

<sup>2</sup> Luzon.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Peamentela.



*September 12.—HAWKYNS TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxvi. 18.—Signed. Addressed.]

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good Lordship :—I do send unto my Lord Admiral an estimate of such money as is now to be had for a full discharge of her Majesty's army. And because your Lordship may be the better satisfied of every demand, I do set down particulars to maintain them in the same book following.

1. The first demand, and the speciallest, is for a month's wages, from the 28th of July to the 25th of August, which was not demanded in the estimate sent from Plymouth of the 19,000 pounds which your Lordship hath paid.

2. The second is for the wages of 2,951 men that have now served in her Majesty's ships from the 25th of August to the 15th of September ; besides the Hope, which was appointed to serve in the Narrow Seas, and is now returned to Queenborough.

3. The third is for conduct in discharge, which hitherto hath not been demanded ; whereof there can be set down no certainty before it be set out upon the sea-books. But I am sure the demand is far under that which it will grow into, but with time your Lordship shall know it more certainly.

4. The fourth is for the tonnage of the ships that served westward, under the charge of Sir Francis Drake, knight, the particulars whereof appeareth in the estimate No. 4.

5. The fifth is for an increase of pay to be made to preachers, lieutenants, and corporals, whereof the estimate doth show to what ships they are allowed particularly, in the No of 5

6. The sixth, and last, is for money appointed to be paid by my Lord Admiral to certain ships of the coast for the continuance of them in service, and to relieve their companies at their departing, which appeareth by particular in the estimate in No. 6.

I have sent this estimate to my Lord Admiral, for his Lordship to confirm it under his hand, that it may be a warrant to your Lordship for the payment of the money ; and have sent this bearer of purpose to attend upon your Lordship for order for payment of the same, humbly praying your good Lordship to help him to his despatch as soon as it may be ; and I will not fail in the meantime to ease her Majesty of the charge of the multitude, and put over the greater sums, that may abide sometime without loss to her Majesty. There were 7 or 8 ships fired by my Lord Admiral's appointment, for the removing of the Spanish fleet out of the Calais road, for which the owners demand 5,000*l.*, which may be considered of by some commissioners from your Lordship and my Lord Admiral, what their value might be. And so praying to God for your Lordship's health and prosperity, I leave to trouble your Lordship. From Queenborough, aboard her Majesty's good ship the Victory, the 12th of September, 1588.

Your honoured Lordship's humbly to command,  
JOHN HAWKYNES.

Since I wrote this letter, I understood by my servant Walter that your Lordship had paid 1,600 pound, which your Lordship may abate in this demand.  
J. HAWKYNES.

[ccxvi. 18, I.—Estimate No. 5, referred to in the foregoing. The other estimates only repeat the names of ships, number of men and 'tonnage.]

An increase of wages to preachers, lieutenants, corporals, and secretaries:—

—	Preachers	Lieutenants	Corporals
	<i>per mensem</i>	<i>per mensem</i>	<i>per mensem</i>
The Ark . . .	I at 3 <i>l</i> .	I at 50 <i>s</i> .	4 at 17 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
Eliz. Jonas . .	I at 40 <i>s</i> .	I „	4 „
Bear . . .	I at 40 <i>s</i> .	I „	4 „
Triumph . . .	—	I „	4 „
Victory . . .	—	I „	4 „
Rainbow . . .	I at 40 <i>s</i> .	I „	4 „
Vanguard . . .	—	I „	4 „
Lion . . .	I at 40 <i>s</i> .	I „	4 „
Mary Rose . . .	—	I „	4 „
Bonaventure . .	—	I „	4 „
Nonpareil . . .	—	I „	4 „
Hope . . .	—	I „	4 „
Revenge . . .	I at 40 <i>s</i> .	I „	4 „
Dreadnought . .	—	I „	2 „
Swiftsure . . .	—	I „	2 „
Swallow . . .	—	I „	2 „
Foresight . . .	—	I „	2 „
Antelope . . .	—	I „	2 „
Aid . . .	—	—	2 „
Galleon Leicester . . .	—	I „	2 „
	6	19	66

An abstract.

1 preacher at 3*l*. *per mensem*.  
5 preachers at 40*s*. „  
19 lieutenants at 50*s*. „  
66 corporals at 17*s*. 6*d*. „  
2 secretaries at 30*s*. „



All which, for the time of their service, may amount unto, by estimation, over and above 10s. *per mensem* allowed unto them by the ordinary medium, 800*l*.

*Sept. 15.—THE CHARGES OF THE LYME SHIPS.*

[*ccxvi. 27.*—Endorsed :—An abstract touching the charges of the ships set forth out of sundry ports, taken out of sundry letters written concerning the same.]

Dorset—Lyme. Somerset—Chard. Devon—Axminster.

Sir Robert Denys, for Devon.

Being charged with a collection of 700*l*. for the setting forth of two ships, Axminster is taxed at a third part; offer 140*l*., and desire the residue may be borne by the other two towns, for the reasons following :—

That all the confining<sup>1</sup> hundreds to them within his division have contributed towards the charge of 1,300*l*. with Exon, the town and hundred of Axminster only being left untaxed, to contribute with Lyme.

That the same are to bear a new charge of 240*l*. for 3 other barks set forth.

That the county of Somerset hath been only charged with a small bark for this service, in which county Chard is.

That the county of Dorset (wherein Lyme is) hath borne but little charge.

Justices of Somerset.

According to your Lordships' letters, they have yielded to contribute one third part of the said sum

<sup>1</sup> Adjoining, neighbouring.



of 700*l.*, and desire they may not be further charged, in respect they have been burdened with the charge of 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* for the late setting forth of the 4,000 trained footmen and 300 horse; and that they are to contribute, with other port towns in the said county, and namely to Bridgwater, for 447*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

Sir George Sydenham and George Trenchard,  
Esq., together, for Somerset and Dorset.

They have yielded to contribute two third parts of the said charge, according to the direction of your Lordships' letters.

In the behalf of the Mayor of Lyme, by  
petition.

That if Axminster be exempted from contributing a third part, he having already disbursed the whole charge, seeth not how he shall be satisfied. These are his reasons why the same should not be exempted:—

That it hath not been charged with any former contributions.

That according to this assessment they are rated but at 2*s.* in the pound, and the said town of Lyme at 5*s.* 6*d.*

George Trenchard, Esq., for Dorsetshire.

That he hath yielded to contribute a third part, though hardly the same can be levied.

That in respect that they hath been burdened with other charges, the same may be eased in that contribution of a third part rather than Axminster; the chief merchants inhabiting in Somersetshire and Axminster, Lyme being only the port town.

That if Axminster be by their Lordships eased, the same may be supplied by the towns and county of Somerset.

In the behalf of the town of Bridgwater, by petition.

That they have been at the charge of 447*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* in setting forth a ship of 60 tons, which they are not able to sustain, being impoverished through want of trade ; whereupon they obtained your Lordships' letters for the levying thereof by contribution from the inhabitants of the county of Somerset, which is not performed by reason the certain sum, till now, was not known. They desire your Lordships' letters to the justices again to collect the said sum.

By letters from the citizens of Bristol.

They have sustained the charge of 1,000*l.* in setting forth 3 ships and a pinnace, which is not yet levied, nor hardly can be, though the wealthier sort are taxed at 13*s.* 4*d.* in the pound, by reason there are many merchants decayed there through want of trade.

The owners and mariners have due to them for tonnage and wages 11,000*l.* more, whereof, in consideration of the premises, they desire to be discharged, and that order may be given for the payment thereof by such other means as your Lordships think meet.

The late Lord Steward,<sup>1</sup> by his letter sent by Floyd, his secretary, desired they may be favoured, supposing their disability such as they allege.

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Leicester : he died on September 4.

By letters from your Lordships, Mr. Darell hath made provision of the victual of the said ships, since the first two months' victual provided by them of the city. They desire to be discharged from the answering thereof; also, by direction to the said Darell, to release their security given in that behalf.

*Minute.*—Sir Fras. Drake is to examine what the wages of the said mariners amounteth unto from the end of two months until the day of the discharge.

Captain Nicholas Webb, by petition.

The city of Gloucester, with the county of the city, and the town of Tewkesbury, were charged with the setting forth of a ship of 80 tons, to join and continue in service with her Majesty's navy; at which time, in respect of occasion for the present employment of such ship, they were advertised by your Lordships' letters, and particularly from my Lord Admiral, that his Lordship would appoint a ship, being ready furnished, to serve in lieu of that to have been set forth by them, and therefore might forbear to provide any, and that hereafter, upon due account, they should answer the charge which the said ship should be signified by his Lordship to amount unto.

The said towns, notwithstanding—his Lordship then being at sea—suggesting to your Lordships that there was not any ship in service for them, obtained order to set forth a ship of their own appointment. Nevertheless, there hath not any such ship served in the navy since the beginning of the service hitherto. This the Lord Admiral will approve. The suppliant hath served with a ship, appointed by his Lordship, from the beginning to the end of the service, and borne all the charge of her setting

forth and victualling for all that time, being five months and ten days, which amounteth to 643*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* This [his] Lordship will also certify. Desireth, he having performed the service and defrayed all the charge aforesaid, their Lordships would be pleased to take order for his satisfaction thereof.

*September 20.—DECLARATION OF ACCOUNTS.*

[ccxvi. 34.]

Charge of victualling her Majesty's ships and others in the West Country :—

A brief declaration of the account of James Quarles, Esquire, general surveyor of the victuals for the marine affairs, for victualling sundry the Queen's Majesty's ships and others, at Plymouth in the West Country, for 300 days, begun the first day of December, and ending the 20th day of September, Anno regni dominæ Elizabethæ nunc Reginæ, 30<sup>o</sup>.

Charge and receipts, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Ready money by him received and had . . . . .	22,428	4	10
Whereof			

Allowance and payments, viz. for :—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rigging and other extraordinary victualling and harbour .	1,118	8	8	1,125	8	8
Transportation of victuals, with light-erage and other charges . . . . .	7	0	0			



## Sea-victualling :—

7 <i>d.</i> the man per diem,					
7,546 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>					
6 <i>d.</i> the man per diem,					
9,081 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>					
Transportation of victuals, with light- erage and other charges . . .	1,071	16	8		
Leakage, ullage, and filling beer . . .	108	9	0		
Victualling on shore at Plymouth, at 6 <i>d.</i> per diem . . .	2,222	6	0		
Sum total of the allowance and pay- ments aforesaid . . .				21,155	17 0

And so he remaineth in debt the sum of  
1,272*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*

17th day of January, 1588.

Exd. by Jo. CONYERS, Auditor.

*Sept. 21.*—*SIR R. BINGHAM*<sup>1</sup> *TO FYTZWYLLIAM*.<sup>2</sup>

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 1, I.—Copy. Endorsed.]

It may please your Honour, what I write unto  
your Lordship now is no more in effect, but a con-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Bingham, born in 1528, had served with the Spaniards at St. Quentin in 1557 and at Lepanto in 1572, and against them in the Low Countries as a volunteer with the Dutch. In 1579 he was serving in Ireland against Desmond, and in 1580 was captain of the Swiftsure under Wynter at Smerwick. In 1584 he was knighted by Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy, and was appointed Governor of Connaught, which office he held, with little interruption, till his death in 1599. He is said to have exercised extreme severity towards the Irish. His conduct towards the Spaniards did certainly not err on the side of mercy.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Fytzwylliam, a lawyer, born in 1526, after being Treasurer and Lord Justice of Ireland, was Lord Deputy from 1572

firmation of my last letters, which I sent by Cotgrave the messenger. For sithence that time here hath not happened any great alteration of news. And yet it is delivered unto me by some of the prisoners of certain, that the Duke of Medina himself was in the great ship, which received the 600 from land at Ballycroy, and then by all likelihood he is cast away, for the wind fell contrary immediately after they put to sea, and became very stormy and foul weather, as not possible he could escape, except his ship were most strong and good, for he was marvellously pestered with such numbers of men. And in the seven ships which lay at Raviskeith<sup>1</sup> on Thomond side, whereof two were lost and one burned, was the galleon St. John, wherein went<sup>2</sup> John Martinez de Recalde, admiral of the whole fleet, who put to sea the same day the Duke did. And sithence I have learned by a Breton, which came to Galway loaded with salt, that these four ships rode<sup>3</sup> at anchor against the Blaskets<sup>4</sup> in Munster, which may haply get home if any do. But by this may appear the great handiwork of Almighty God, who hath drowned the remain of that mighty army, for the most part, on the coasts of this province, which was the very place they themselves most doubted, as may appear by the instructions the Duke gave them after the Queen's ships had left them, the copy whereof your Lordship shall here inclosed receive.

This morning I am going to Galway to take order for some things there, and to despatch a man

to 1575, and again from February 1587-8 to 1594. He died in 1599.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Labasheeda in the Shannon. Thomond was, roughly, County Clare. The seven ships would seem to be those spoken of by Popham, *ante*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham's Spanish service will account for his use of this peculiarly Spanish idiom, *en que iba*.

<sup>3</sup> Rydd.

<sup>4</sup> Blaskeyes.

unto your Lordship with Don Luis de Cordoba, the prisoner, which we have yet gotten ; and till now I could not satisfy your Lordship's desire therein, for the great floods, and other urgent occasions I had in hand, unless I should have sent some of the basest sort. And by him I shall be better able to advertise your Lordship the full particularities of all things which have happened in this action.

I had intelligence sent me from my brother that the 700 Spaniards in Ulster were despatched, which I know your Lordship heareth before this time. And this I dare assure your Lordship now, that in a 15 or 16 ships cast away on the coast of this province, which I can in my own knowledge say to be so many, there hath perished at least a 6,000 or 7,000 men, of which there hath been put to the sword, first and last, by my brother George, and in Mayo, Thomond, and Galway, and executed one way and another, about 7 or 800, or upwards, besides those that be yet alive, of which Don Luis de Cordoba is supposed to be the best, for Pedro Mendoza was slain in Clare<sup>1</sup> Island by Dowdaraugh O'Mayle before he would yield in time of the execution. So as now—God be thanked—this province stands clear and rid of all these foreign enemies, save a silly poor prisoners, except O'Rourke<sup>2</sup> do keep any contrary to our general order and proclamation, sithence the publication whereof I have not heard from my brother how he hath answered him in that point.

And touching the ordnance and other munitions lost here, all diligence shall be used to save as much as may for her Majesty's use ; but the great ship at Ballicro, and the rest cast away about those islands, are now all broken in pieces, and the ordnance and everything else utterly lost, I fear me. Treasure and great wealth hath been taken, no doubt, but that by

<sup>1</sup> Cleare

<sup>2</sup> Orwoorke.

such unworthy persons as it will hardly be ever any thereof come by at all, they be such as hath it as before now have always been upon their keepings; albeit it is possible in time some of it may be had. This is all worthy your Lordship's advertising for this time. And so I humbly take my leave. At Shrowle,<sup>1</sup> the 21st of September, 1588.

Your Lordship's most humbly at commandment,  
RICHARD BINGHAM.

[Ireland, *xxxvii.* 1, II.—Copy. Endorsed :—Direction given by the Duke of Medina for the course which the Spanish navy should hold on their return to Spain.]

The course that shall be held in the return of this army into Spain.

The course that is first to be held is to the North-North-East, until you be found under 61 degrees and a half; and then to take great heed lest you fall upon the island of Ireland, for fear of the harm that may happen unto you upon that coast. Then parting from those islands, and doubling the Cape in 61 degrees and a half, you shall run West-South-West until you be found under 58 degrees; and from thence to the South-West to the height of 53 degrees; and then to the South-South-West, making to the Cape Finisterre, and so to procure your entrance into the Groyne or to Ferrol, or to any other port of [the<sup>2</sup>] coast of Galicia.

<sup>1</sup> Shrute, County Mayo.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in MS.



*September.—REPORTS OF SURVEY.*

[ccxx.]

25th of September, 1588.—A survey of the tackle and apparel, cables, cablets, anchors and other provisions remaining in her Majesty's ships, taken at their coming from the seas as well by the view of John Austyne and Richard Poulter, two of the masters of her Highness's said ships; as also by Roger Monnox, clerk of the survey of the same.

[The survey of each ship is signed by Austyne and Poulter, and in most cases by the boatswain, generally with a mark. The ships included, with the names of the signing boatswains, are :—

Triumph, Simon Fernandez; Elizabeth Jonas, John × Woodroffe<sup>1</sup>; Bear, Robert × Baxter; Ark, John × Wright; Victory, John × Edmonds; Hope, John × Vayle; Golden Lion (not signed); Mary Rose, John × Heath, for Lawrence Cleer; Elizabeth Bonaventure, Tristram Searché; Revenge, Richard × Derrick; Nonpareil, I.C.; Rainbow, Richard Laine; Dreadnought, × Harvy; Swiftsure, Willm. Mychell; Antelope (not signed); Foresight, James Andrews; Swallow, John × Bourman; Aid, John × Russell; Bull, Myhyll Pyrkyne; Tiger (not signed); Scout (not signed); Tramontana, John Pratte; Achates (not signed); Charles (not signed); Disdain; Advice, Tristram × George; Cygnet, George Wilkynson; Spy; Merlin; Moon.

It seems unnecessary to print the whole; the survey of the Ark will probably be thought the most interesting, and may be taken as a fair specimen. Not one speaks of any great damage or serious defect. The survey of the Ark is given in the original spelling, which is singularly good and consistent.]

<sup>1</sup> × These signed with a mark.

*September 23.—THE ARK ROYAL*

## The Rigginge of the Bolsprite :—

The bolsprite—good ; the spritesale yarde—good ; the clulyns—decayed—xl fadoms—ii inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the braces—decayed—l fadoms—i inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the spritesale shuts<sup>1</sup>—half-worne ; the spritesale hallyards—half-worne ; the false tye—decayed—xvi fadoms—vi inches.

## The Rigginge of the Formaste :—

The formaste—good ; the foreyarde—good ; the forestaye—half-worne ; the forepennants—good ; the ronners—good ; the falls of the tackells—half-worne ; the falls of the swifsters—half-worne ; the pennants of the swifsters—half-worne ; the backestayes—decayed—xvii fa : apece—vii inches ; the foretyes—decayed—xxxvi fa :—vii inches  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the forehallyards—half-worne ; the backestayes—decayed—xvii fa : ; the foretacks—half-worne ; the foreshuts—half-worne ; the foreshrouds—half-worne ; the forebolings—half-worne ; the clewgarnetts—decayed—lx fa :—ii inches ; the martnetts<sup>2</sup>—decayed—lx fa :—ii inches ; the trusses—good ; the pennants of the forebraces—half-worne ; the falls of the forebraces—decayed—l fa :—ii inches ; the parrell—good ; the forelifts—half-worne ; the jeer—decayed xl fa :—vi inches  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

## The Rigginge of the Foretopmaste :—

Theforeputtocks<sup>3</sup>—decayed—xxx fa :—iii inches ; the foretopmaste—good ; the foretopmaste yarde—

<sup>1</sup> Sheets.<sup>2</sup> Leech-lines.<sup>3</sup> Futtock-shrouds.

good ; the foretopsale—half-worne ; the foretopmaste shrowds—good ; the foretopmast staye—good ; the pennants and falls of the tackles of the foretopmast—good ; the lifts—half-worne ; the braces—decayed—lx fa :—i inch  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the clulyns—decayed—iiii<sup>xx</sup><sup>1</sup> fa :—ii inches ; the foretopsale shuts—decayed—iii<sup>xx</sup> fa :—v inches ; the wyndrope<sup>2</sup> for the topmaste—decayed—xlviii fa :—vii inches ; the hallyards—decayed—xlii fa :—viii inches  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the parrell—good ; the foretopsale bolings—decayed—lxiii fa :—i inch rope ; the backstaye of the foretopmaste—good ; the martnetts and their falls<sup>3</sup>—half-worne.

### The Rigginge of the Mayne-maste.

The mayne-maste—good ; the mayne yarde—good ; the mayne shrowds—half-worne ; the mayne staye—good ; the pennants of the garnetts<sup>4</sup>—good ; the falls thereof : vi good, the other decayed—xl fad :—iiii inche ; the pennants of the tackles—half-worne ; the ronners of the tackles—half-worne ; the mayne tacks—good ; the mayne shuts—half-worne ; the mayne bolings—half-worne ; the clew garnetts—decayed—lx fa :—i inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the mayne parrell and trusses—good ; the mayne tyes—decayed—xl fa :—viii inches  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the mayne hall-yards—half-worne ; the mayne lifts—half-worne ; the mayne braces with pennants and falls—decayed—iii<sup>xx</sup><sup>5</sup> fa :—iii inche ; the jeer—decayed—xxxviii fa :—vii inches  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the mayne martnetts and falls—decayed—lx fa :—i inche.

<sup>1</sup> Four-score.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the mast-rope.

<sup>3</sup> 'The fall of the martnets of the top-sails comes no farther than the top, where it is hauled. When they are to haul these martnets, the term is "top the martnets"' (Manwayring).

<sup>4</sup> Gurnet-pendants.

<sup>5</sup> Three score and ten.

## The Rigginge of the Mayne topmast.

The mayne topmaste—good ; the mayne topmaste yarde—good ; the mayne topmaste staye—good ; the puttocks—decayed—lxiiii fad :—iiii inche ; the mayne topmaste shrowds—good ; the tackells—good ; the parrell and trusses—good ; the lifts—half-worne ; the martnetts—decayed—ii coyle of small lyne ; the braces—decayed—l fad :—i inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the clulyns—decayed—xlv fad :—ii inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the mayne topsale bolings—decayed—xliiii fad :—ii inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the backestayes—good ; the mayne topsale shuts—decayed—c fa :—vi inche  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; the wyndrope—decayed—xlviii fad :—vii inches ; the topsale tye—decayed—viii fa :—v inches ; the topsale hall-yards—half-worne ; the lanyards and brest ropes for the mayne parrell and fore parrell—decayed—iii<sup>xx</sup> fa :—iiii inche  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

## The Rigginge of the Mayne mysson maste.

The maste — good ; the yarde — good ; the shrowds—good ; the lifts—decayed—iiii<sup>xx</sup>—ii small lynes ; the staye—good ; the parrell and trusse—good ; the tye—decayed—xii fad :—vi inches ; the hallyards—decayed—xl fa :—iii inches.

## The Rigginge of the Bonaventur mast.

The maste—good ; the yarde—good ; the shrowds—good ; the tye—decayed—x fads :—vi inches ; the hallyards—decayed—xxxvi fads :—iiii inches ; the swifters parrell and trusse—good ; the staye—half-worne ; the shuts—decayed—xxx fads :—iii inches.

JHON AUSTYNE.

RYCHARD POULTER.

4  
XIX



Great anckers for bowers. . . .	iii
Great anckers cracked in the crosse and caried to Harwich out of the Downes . . . . .	i
Sheate anckers . . . . .	i
Boate anckers . . . . .	i
Grapnells loste with the boate and a hawser of iiij inches . . . .	i
Cables of xvii inches, whereby the ship is mored to the eastwarde .	i half-worne
Cables of xvi inches in a shot, where- by the ship is mored to the west- warde . . . . .	ii whereof one is to be cut of, being more then qr. worne
Cables of xvi inches in a shot .	ii more then qr. worne
Cables of xv inches . . . . .	ii worne and noughte
Fathoms of a cable of xv inches .	1 fath : worne
Cables of xv inches, whereof one broken at Flushing . . . . .	ii worne
Cables of xi inches for a kedger .	ii more then qr. worne
Cables of x inches for a bote rope, beinge a great parte cut of at the losinge of the boate . . . . .	i half-worne
Gest rope of viii inches . . . . .	i worne
Cablets of viii inches cut out in iii booye ropes of xxv fath : a pece .	i newe
Cablets of viii inches . . . . .	i newe
Cablets of vii inches . . . . .	i newe
Cablets of vii inches . . . . .	i qr. worne
Cablets of vi inches . . . . .	i half-worne
Hawsers of viii inches . . . . .	i newe
Hawsers of vii inches . . . . .	i qr. worne
Hawsers of vi inches . . . . .	i qr. worne

Hawsers of iiij inches . . . . .	iiij newe
Coyles of v inches . . . . .	iiij newe
Of ii inches, do. . . . .	xvi newe
Coyles of ii inches and inche $\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .	v
Tarde lynes . . . . .	iii
Ratlyne . . . . .	iiij bolts
Marlyne . . . . .	iiij bundells
Twyne, white and blacke . . . . .	x skewnes
Sale nedells . . . . .	ii dozen
Bolts of medernex . . . . .	lviii
Streamers . . . . .	xiii
Pendants . . . . .	xvi
Shovells and spades . . . . .	x
Bowles . . . . .	iii
Bucketts . . . . .	{ x of lether & iii other
Scowpes . . . . .	iiij
Ballost basketts . . . . .	vi
Compasses . . . . .	iii
Roninge glasses . . . . .	iiij
Flaggs of St. George . . . . .	{ iii & ii of the Q. armes, rotten
Ensignes of silke . . . . .	{ i taken away either by Mr. Gray or my Lord's man
Soundinge lynes . . . . .	{ iiij new & ii oulde
Soundinge leads . . . . .	iiij
Fidds of yron . . . . .	viii
Catte hooks . . . . .	iiij
Can hooks . . . . .	i pair
Loof hooks . . . . .	ii
Leech hooks . . . . .	i
Boate hooks . . . . .	ii

Fishe hooks . . . . .	ii
Bilbowes with x shackells . . . . .	i pair
Spare shevers of brasse . . . . .	xx
Crowes of iron . . . . .	ii
Pitche potts of iron . . . . .	i { consumed at
Pitche potts of copper . . . . .	i { the firing of
	the shippes
Baricos . . . . .	xxxii
Bote oars . . . . .	xviii
Nettings for the forecastle, for the waste, & for the half-decke . . . . .	viii
Waste clothes . . . . .	ii rotten
Kettles for the cooke rome . . . . .	ii
Toppe armors for the myzon toppe . . . . .	ii
Trevetts . . . . .	i
Spitts . . . . .	i
Cobyrons <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	i pair
Furnesses of copper . . . . .	i
Cratchetts for lights . . . . .	i

The Sailes of the saide Ship, viz. :—

The spritesale with a bonnet<sup>2</sup>—half-worne ; the forecourse & bonnet doble, with a single drabler—half-worne ; the fore topsaile—half-worne ; the mayne corse & bonnet doble, with a single drabler

<sup>1</sup> Irons hung on the bars of the range to support the spit.

<sup>2</sup> The bonnet was a strip of canvas which laced on to the foot of the sail. 'Lacing on the bonnet' or 'bringing to the bonnet' was equivalent to shaking out a reef. The drabler, in the same way, laced on to the foot of the bonnet. 'The bonnet is commonly used with none but the mizen, main and fore-sails, and the sprit-sails. I have seen—but it is very rare—a top sail bonnet. . . . When we do speak of the sail in any correspondence to the bonnet, we call it the course, and not the sail ; as we say, when a ship hath those sails out—course and bonnet of each, not mainsail and bonnet and foresail and bonnet. Shake off the bonnet : that is, take it off' (Manwayring).

—qr. worne; the mayne topsale—half-worne; the mayne myzon saile—qr. worne; & the bonaventure myzon saile—half-worne; the ii bonnetts belonging to the myzon sailes, lost in the bote. Item, one topgallant saile, newe. Item, the botes saile & ii pinnesse sailes were also lost in the boate.

The long boate with a shyver of brasse in the hedd, with the oares and dyvers other things lost at sea, the boat being splitte. Item, the pynnesse being also lost, & a cocke. Item, one oulde pynnesse used for a shifte.

Note, that there was lent, by my Lord Admeralls comaundment, unto one Nicholas Wrichte, captaine of a ship called the Bartholomew of Apsam, one cable of x inches, being a qr. worne, for the which he delyvered his bill to be restored agayne.

More, lent to one Rafe Hawse of Dartmouth, cne cablet of vii inches, by my Lord's comaundment. More, lent to a ship of Lyme, by my Lord's comaundment, iii parts of a hawser of vii inches.

JHON AUSTYNE.  
RYCHARD POULTER.

4  
XIX

John Lights marke.

[But the 'declaration of the wants' of the Ark is signed, with the same mark, 'Signum Joh<sup>is</sup> Wricht, boteswayne.']

[At the end of the volume is :—

'A declaration of all the several wants of anchors, cables, cablets, hawsers &c., as is to be provided as well for the perfect rigging of all her Majesty's ships and pinnaces hereafter particularly set down, as also for ground tackle and sea store fit for the said ships for one setting forth to the seas, as followeth.'

The wants are entirely cables, hawsers, rope &c., anchors, and grapnels. The chief points of interest about them are that the Ark demanded a sheet anchor of 22 cwt.



and a bower anchor of 20 cwt.; and that the Spy demanded six bolts of 'mederinax' for binding of sails and for store.

The following from the different surveys may also be noted :—

Triumph.—The long boat lost at sea. 'Item, one newe longe botte, with a shyver of bras in the hedd and one in the davith.' Flags of St. George, one new, and one carried away by Mr. Eliot. Ensigns of silk, carried away by Sir Martin Frobiser, one. 'Ronynge glasses, viii; compasses, v.'

Elizabeth Jonas.—'The grete botte lost at sea.' Flags of St. George, three, whereof one delivered to the dock; ensigns of silk in John Austyne's chest, one. 'Compasses, v; ronynge glasses, xii.'

Bear.—'The great boate with all her furniture lost, with the saile.' Flags of St. George, two, and one of the Queen's arms. Ensigns of silk, taken away by my Lord's lieutenant or his man. 'Compasses, vi; ronninge glasses, viii.'

Victory.—'Item, the longe boate, with a shever of iron in the hedd & one other in the daffid.' Flags of St. George, two; ensigns of silk, one. 'Bolts of medernex, xxiii.'

Golden Lion.—'The longe boate not serviceable, with a shyver of iron in the hedd & one in the davith.' Flags of St. George, two, old.

Elizabeth Bonaventure.—Flags of St. George, two, and 'a bluddey flagge.' Ensigns of silk, one, spoiled with shot and given to the captain.

Revenge.—'Medernex, lix; streamers, small & great, xi; waste clothes, iii<sup>xx</sup> yards; flagges of Sainte George, ii, worne; ensignes, i.'

Rainbow.—Flags of St. George, two, old; ensigns of silk, one; streamers, ten, old and nought.

Dreadnought.—'Flagges of St. George, i; ensignes of bewpers, i. Item, a longe boate, with ii shyvers of yron, the one in the hedd, & the other in the davitte.'

Similarly for the rest. All the long boats were fitted with a davit. All the ships had one ensign, one or more flags of St. George, and—some of them, but not all—streamers and pendants.]

*September 28.—A SURVEY OF THE NAVY.*

[ccxvi. 40.—Signed. Endorsed.]

All such ships as were at Chatham, at this instant 28th of September, 1588.

The state of her Majesty's ships, ship-boats, and pinnaces examined and surveyed by the master shipwrights and other the masters attendant at Chatham, according to the directions and order given unto them from her Majesty's officers of the navy, the 28th of September, 1588.

The Elizabeth Jonas.—The same ship being so pestered in the hold, which most special places could not be examined; and so generally throughout the fleet. And being exactly examined and surveyed by the master shipwrights the 12th of October, 1587, and the same exhibited to the Lord Admiral, unto the which we thought good to have a relation only such other imperfections as is since made known, we are to set down the same; as in this ship, the decayed fashion-pieces; the weakness of the forecastle; the altering of the form thereof, whereby more shot may be used forward. Also divers knees are to be placed for her more strength, and accordingly caulked and ransacked for her better preservation.

The Triumph.—In the same ship appeareth divers imperfections about the loof<sup>1</sup> and forepart, growing of decayed timber, which is to be strengthened; as also the forecastle is to be reformed, as in the Elizabeth; certain parts in the ship is to be strengthened with knees; and two beams that are cracked or given way are to be amended; the stem before and the fashion-pieces abaft are to be examined; sundry places in

<sup>1</sup> The after part of the bow, before the chess-tree.

the cage-work are to be renewed, and the outward and inward places to be ransacked and caulked. Also she is to have a new bonaventure-mizzen and a new boat.

The White Bear.—In the same ship appeareth divers imperfections : growing of decayed timber, which procureth the leakiness at the seas ; besides, the stem and sternpost is imperfect ; all which as they are to be reformed, so can it not be done to any perfection without a dry dock. Also she is to have a new mainmast, a foremast, a bowsprit, a main-yard, a foreyard, a spritsail yard and a bonaventure-mast. Also she wanteth a new boat and a new pinnace.

The Victory.—The same ship, as the timber and fashion-pieces be in great decay, yet there is hope and no less show of her service than of the rest, so that a small charge for the present is to be bestowed, besides ransacking and caulking ; only she wanteth a new bowsprit and a new boat ; also a main-mizzen mast.

The Ark.—The same ship, her upper overlop in the waist is to be taken up and brought to a less cambering,<sup>1</sup> for the better use of the ordnance. There is a beam cracked, which is to be amended ; and the ship ransacked and caulked. Also she wanteth a new boat and a pinnace.

The Hope.—In the same ship appeareth great imperfections and weakness, which procureth leakiness at the sea ; and by the disorderly graving which hath been used upon her, hath hastened her decay ; for reforming whereof no help can well be had without dry docking. The mainmast is decayed, and she wanteth a new boat and a pinnace.

The Bonaventure.—In this ship there is a show of imperfection growing from under the sheathing,

<sup>1</sup> Curve ; made more level.

which is to be removed ; as also the sternpost, fashion-piece and rudder are much decayed ; all which are not to be remedied without dry docking. Besides, she wanteth a new bowsprit and a new pinnacle.

The *Mary Rose*.—This ship at this instant is very leaky, which may not only proceed of the imperfections of her timbers, but much more of her decayed stem and sternpost, which appeareth to be a cause thereof, as well at the sea as otherwise ; the remedy whereof cannot well be done but in a dry dock. Besides, her mainmast is decayed, and her boat and pinnacle is to be repaired.

The *Lion*.—The same ship is at this instant in order for the seas, both graved and caulked within board and without ; the cook room is removed and made upon the lower overlop in the midships ; the mainmast and foremast are fished, and such other needful works done.

The *Revenge*.—The same ship is to have a new mainmast, being decayed and perished with shot as otherwise ; more, she is to have a new jeer capstan, and certain other places to be amended. Also the boat is to be new, and the pinnacle to be repaired.

The *Nonpareil*.—The same ship's mainmast is to be taken out, and the same to be fished, or else to make a new ; also the foremast, bowsprit, with the main-mizzen-mast, are all to be made new, and likewise the bonaventure-mast. More, she is to have a new boat, and all new tops, as also the pinnacle repaired ; besides ransacking and caulking.

The *Dreadnought*.—The same ship hath been lately reformed of some imperfections. Notwithstanding, her many decayed timbers remaineth, and for her leak at the sea is to be amended at the next graving, with other needful ransacking and caulking. Her bow is to be repaired, and to have a new pinnacle.



The *Swiftsure*.—In this ship her imperfect timber remaining, divers other imperfections to be reformed, as the beak-head and the stem under the same; also the step of the foremast is decayed; also she is to be graved and new caulked under water, for doing whereof it is determined to have her into the wet dock at Chatham. Also she is to have a new foremast, a foreyard, and a new boat.

The *Antelope*.—The same ship, being an old bottom, at her next graving is to be dubbed and well ransacked and caulked. Also she is to have a new rudder, a new capstan, a broken knee renewed, her boat repaired, a new foretop, and a new pinnacle.

The *Swallow*.—In which ship some weakness appeareth; for strengthening whereof, divers standing knees are to be placed, a new fore-knight is to be made, the main capstans new whelped, her bow to be amended, and a new pinnacle to be made, and a new maintop.

The *Tiger*.—In this ship appeareth some leakiness under the beak-head, which is to be amended; divers ports are to be reformed; a new maintop is to be made, a new boat and a pinnacle.

The *Bull*.—The same ship being often in hand, and sundry times repaired, and now in that decay as will be a charge of such a new one to bring in good order, and being without hope of her service or continuance, we leave her to a further consideration of such as may deal further in her by authority and their better discretions.

The *Merlin*.—The same pinnacle, her mainmast is to be new headed and her footwaling something raised for the ballast in the midships. She is to have a new bilge pump and a new maintop, besides ransacking and caulking.

The *Charles*.—The same pinnacle hath had a new mainmast, mizzenmast, certain knees and other

needful things done ; and is ransacked, caulked, and graved, and in readiness for any sudden service, only she wanteth a boat.

The Spy.—This pinnace hath had a new head and certain bindings within board ; as also all her masts new, and is now in readiness for the service.

The Scout.—This bark hath had divers things reformed in her, specially about the bows ; her cook room removed up upon the overlop ; a new bowsprit ; ransacked, graved, and caulked, and in readiness to service.

The Achates.—The same bark being often repaired, and so much done for her strength as may be, nevertheless it is reported by the captain, master, and boatswain that her leakiness is such in foul weather, and complaineth so sore, as they think her state dangerous to be continued at the sea. To remedy the same, cannot well without bringing her upon a dry shore, to do it to any perfection.

The Galley Eleanor.—The same galley is so near worn as her service is of small continuance.

Per PETER PETT. MATHEW BAKER.

JHON AUSTYNE.<sup>1</sup>

#### *PETITION OF ANTHONY POTTS.*

[ccxvi. 66.—Endorsed :—The humble petition of Anthony Potts of Bridgwater, mariner.]

To the right honourable the Lords and others her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

In most humble wise complaining, sheweth unto your Honours your continual suppliant and daily orator, Anthony Potts :—That whereas your said

<sup>1</sup> This man could scarcely write even his name, and here signed it 'Astyne.'

suppliant was lately employed in her Majesty's service in a certain ship of his own, called the Charity of Newcastle, of the burden of 180 tons, with victuals and the wages of 80 men belonging thereunto; and also of one other bark of 30 tons, with victuals and wages also of 20 men the space of two months, over and above the charges allowed him by the town of Plymouth; and for that, Right Honourable, your said suppliant hath been a continual suitor unto your Honours the space of six weeks past for such money as is due unto him, as well to his great cost and intolerable expenses, as also to the utter undoing of him and his for ever, by reason of his great charge and absence: May it therefore please your Honours, of your accustomed goodness, with pity to regard your suppliant's estate, and of your honourable clemency to grant that he may have present payment of his said money due unto him. And he, with his, as most bounden, shall daily pray unto God for your Honours, in all prosperity, long life, with all increase of honour, long to continue.

*Autograph minute, signed.*—Sir Francis Drake is to certify how long his ship hath served, and with what numbers, and what is due unto him for the time of his service. FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

THE PETITION OF THE CAPTAINS &c., OF  
SANDWICH AND DOVER.

[ccxvi. 67.—Endorsed :—Not mentioned in Mr. Hawkyngs' book.]

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill, Knight, Baron of Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England, and one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

Most humbly beseecheth your Honour, the captains, masters, mariners, and soldiers, with others of the two ships lately set forth by the towns of Sandwich and Dover :—That whereas, upon letters of demand sent by your Honours to the said townships, they have dutifully and faithfully (as they trust) served her Majesty by the space of two months now passed, at their own great and excessive cost and charges, and did for the great and weighty considerations remembered in your Honour's letters double the charge requested ; and those two months being expired, were commanded by the Honourable the Lord Henry Seymour, then admiral in the Narrow Seas, to take in victuals of her Majesty's and to serve other two months, which we have accordingly very sufficiently performed, as by his Lordship's and Sir William Wynter's their discharge under their hands may and doth appear : It may therefore please your Honour to grant speedy order for pay to be made of the said two last months behind unpaid, the rather for that the great outcries and pitiful complaints of the poor needy mariners and soldiers, daily made for want thereof, cannot otherwise be relieved and appeased. And we the said humble suppliants shall, as we are most bounden, continually pray unto the Almighty for the long and happy estate of your Honour, to his glory.

*MEMORIAL OF THE TOWN OF HASTINGS.*

[ccxvi. 68.—Engrossed.]

Remembrance for the Right Honourable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England.

The Anne Bonaventure, of the burden of 70 tons, manned with 49 men.



The said ship served in the Narrow Seas with her Majesty's navy five months, of which time they were victualled by the inhabitants of Hastings for three months, and by her Majesty's officers for two months. They have, according to the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsyngham's direction, repaired unto Mr. Holstok and Mr. Borough for the rating of their allowances, who have not all only abated unto them their tonnage, for which they pay 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per month, the sum of . . . . . but also of their men's wages as they have paid them, the sum of . . . . . the which amounteth unto 43*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* over and above the sum of 403*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*, the charge the poor township hath been at for the three months they themselves victualled.

£ s. d.

26 13 4

17 3 6

Their humble petition is beseeching your Honours of your warrants for their payment to be despatched, for avoiding of charges by long suit; the sum being rated at . . . . .

69 10 10

They beseech also your honourable regards to be carried towards their allowance of their victualling and manning of 11 crayers, furnished with 80 men, who, upon the sight of the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsyngham's letters, were set forth to attend upon the Lord Admiral in the Narrow Seas, where they continued 15 days, the sum of . . . . .

36 0 0

They pray also your honourable warrants to be granted unto them that, where they have no allowance of ton-

nage, the said warrants may be directed unto the owner of their said ship, to enjoin him to take her Majesty's allowance, and to repay back again what he hath received for the later two months above her Majesty's said allowance ; as also to be directed unto those which refuse to pay their contribution, as they are assessed unto the said charge.

The like, they of the town of Hythe most humbly desire to be allowed, as by their bill rated appeareth ; as also allowance for five crayers, manned with 40 men and 4 boys, for the like time, the sum of   £   s.   d.

18   0   0

*September 30.—WM. THOMAS TO BURGHLEY.*

[Holland, lvii.—Signed. Addressed.]

The God of all wisdom and power govern and direct you ever in all your counsels as may be most to his glory, the honour of her Majesty's people and country, and to the utter overthrow of all her enemies.

Whereas, Right Honourable, at this time, as also at other times,<sup>1</sup> I have been bold to write to your Honour, the rather presuming of your Honour's favour, in that my desire or request tendeth for the honour of her Majesty and your Honours all, and for the better service to be done against the enemy ; for the which, Right Honourable, a petition was

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clvii. 42 : the petition is not dated, but would seem from this to have been written in 1585. In it Thomas proposes that the ships should have 5 gunners to every 100 tons ; which, notwithstanding his present complaint, is about what the ships had.

made to your Honour and to the rest of her Majesty's honourable Privy Council of long time, but more plainly made known three years past. The suit was to have the corporation for the gunners which was given by that famous prince of memory, Henry the Eighth, that the said charter, with other articles needful, then made known, to be annexed for the better service of her Highness, might be renewed and confirmed; the cause of so great a benefit requested only for the better strengthening and defending of her country, and being to be proved no charges more to her Highness, neither to her people, but from the same would have proceeded great profit, not only to her country, but also even to her Majesty's coffers, as, if it had pleased God I might have been permitted to have answered, should have been more plainly showed.

But our sins and our unworthiness caused that suit so little to be regarded, as it may plainly appear at this day; for if it had pleased God that her Majesty's ships had been manned with a full supply of good gunners, according to the forces they carry, when the Spanish fleet came through the Narrow Seas and her Highness's navy so long in fight, it could not otherwise have come to pass, the Lord being not against them, but that it would have been the woofullest time or enterprise that ever the Spaniard took in hand; and no otherwise to be thought or doubted of, but that the most noblest victory by the sea that ever was heard of would have fallen to her Majesty. What can be said but our sins was the cause that so much powder and shot spent, and so long time in fight, and, in comparison thereof, so little harm?

And although, Right Honourable, our gracious God hath dealt mercifully with us, in that our enemies hath had no success at this time against us, yet

it were greatly to be wished that the same suit with the articles were stirred up again, and that it might come before your Honours all, to be more deeply considered of ; and also it were greatly to be wished that your Honours were more truly certified of that blind exercise and unskilful teaching by the name of scholars in the artillery, whereby her Highness may no longer be deceived, neither your Honours therein any further abused.<sup>1</sup> And as we are bound, Right Honourable, to give God most hearty thanks for that her Highness and your Honours hath so great care for the keeping and the maintaining of so royal a navy, and also sparing of no charges for the furnishing of them plentifully with great and forcible ordnance, every one of them according to their burden, so it were greatly to be desired of the Lord that he would also work with her Majesty and your Honours that there might be such good policies and means by her established and confirmed, as thereby in our science knowledge may be more and more known and increased ; whereby her Majesty, in all her affairs, may be the better served, and her enemies thereby the more terrified. Thus, Right Honourable, I cease, craving your Honour's favour in this my boldness ; and so for this time I humbly take my leave, praying continually to the Almighty for your Honour's happy health, with long increase of the same. Flushing, the last of September.

Your Honour's to use

at your commandment till death,

WM. THOMAS, master gunner in Flushing.

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of this letter is rather a curiosity. Here is a sample :—yt were grettly to bey wesshed that yowr onors were more truly sartyfyed of that blynde exsarsyes and own skelfell techen by the name of skolors. In the artelayry. Where by her heyghtnes may no leyngar be dessavyd. nayther yowr onors. thare In. any forthar a beusyd.



*Oct. 1.—SIR R. BINGHAM TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 3.—Signed. Addressed.]

It may please your Honour:—Although the Lord Deputy (I know) hath from time to time acquainted your Honour with the particular occurrences of this province, as well as the general state of things else in this action of the Spanish shipping, yet consideration of duty bindeth me to deliver unto your Honour somewhat briefly the accidents that have happened within my charge, with such honour and praise unto Almighty God as so glorious a victory, first at sea and since by their confusion of shipwreck, is worthy of, beseeching the same God that for these his infinite blessings we may ever rest much more thankful.

After the Spanish fleet had doubled Scotland and were in their course homewards, they were by contrary weather driven upon the several parts of this province and wrecked, as it were by even portions, 3 ships in every of the 4 several counties bordering upon the sea coasts, viz., in Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and Thomond. So that 12 ships perished that all we know of on the rocks and sands by the shore side, and some 3 or 4 besides to seaboard of the out isles, which presently sunk, both men and ships, in the night time. And so can I say, by good estimation, that 6 or 7,000 men have been cast away on these coasts, save some 1,000 of them which escaped to land in several places where their ships fell, which sithence were all put to the sword.

Amongst these were many gentlemen of the middle sort, and some reserved alive, but none of their greatest commanders have happened into our

hands. The Duke himself was upon the coast of Erris in Mayo, and there received into his ship Don Alonso de Leyva, with a 600 men that had been cast ashore out of the Rata, Sir Horatio Palavicino<sup>1</sup> his ship, which ship lies there all to split in pieces. And John Martinez de Recalde, their admiral, with some 6 or 7 ships more in his company, fell into the mouth of the Shannon, and is since departed for Spain; but I am persuaded that neither of them both will ever recover home, and especially the Duke, for they wanted both victuals and fresh water, and have since been hindered with continual contrary winds. The like opinion I hold of as many more of their ships as touched upon these coasts, and have from hence taken their course for Spain.

Other great wrecks they had both in Munster and in Ulster, which being out of my charge I have not so good notice of, but the same (I doubt not) is fully made known unto your Honour.

For saving of the artillery and other munitions for her Majesty's store, there shall not anything be omitted here that may possibly be done to the furtherance thereof.

And thus craving pardon for my boldness, with my humble duty remembered unto your Honour, to my Lady, and to my good lady and mistress, with the like from my wife, I humbly take leave for this time. At Athlone, the first of October, 1588.

Your Honour's most humble at command,

RY. BINGHAM.

<sup>1</sup> In confusion for Horatio Donago (*post*, p. 276). Palavicino had, of course, nothing to do with it; but the Christian name suggested the surname.

*October 6.—CARY TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxvii. 10.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My duty to your good Lordships most humbly remembered :—I have received your Honours' letters of the last of September, touching the continuance of my service concerning the safe keeping of the goods which were in the Spanish ship. Though none of them do remain in my custody, yet will I in all duty have care of your Lordships' commandment as appertaineth, trusting that hereafter others in like case will use better husbandry than heretofore hath been. And in discharge of my duty and conscience, I think it meet to acquaint your Lordships with some things left out of our last inventory, namely, two pieces of brass delivered out of this ship into a pinnace of Plymouth ; another piece of brass delivered into the Samaritan, a ship of Dartmouth ; as also in the same ship 12 muskets and 12 calivers. The ship and bark are returned from her Majesty's service, yet these things remain unanswered to her Majesty. Your Honours' directions I humbly pray. Jacob Whiddon had also 10 or 12 pieces of brass into the Roebuck. For the liberal disposing of the wines and other things, it will be over long to trouble your Honours therewith. To be plain, it goeth against my conscience that we cannot yield so just an account of our doings as in duty it appertaineth.

It pleased your Honours to direct your letters of the 6th of this last month unto Sir John Gilberte and myself, signifying thereby her Majesty's pleasure that the Spanish prisoners for their relief should be allowed to everych<sup>1</sup> of them 4*d*. per diem. In this service Sir John Gilberte and I do not agree :

<sup>1</sup> Every each, every one.

for he, being unwilling to take any pains where no profit ariseth, would fain thrust the 226 prisoners which remain at Bridewell, 16 miles from my house, to my charge. And he would take upon him the charge of 160 of the said Spanish prisoners remaining a-shipboard hard by his house, and every day hardly labouring in his garden in the levelling of his grounds, so that he is too wise for me (as he thinketh), to have their daily labour and yet allowance from her Majesty of 4*d.* per diem to each of them. I have no grounds to level nor work to set them unto, so far from my house ; and therefore, under your Lordships' favours, the match he offereth me is not equal. The service by your Lordships commanded was jointly sent us both. By this means your Honours' directions are neglected.

These persons, under your Lordships' correction, would, with good discreet order, be sufficiently relieved for 2*d.* per diem, and so a moiety of the charge saved, if your Honours would but direct a course from whence the money should be disbursed, either from the Sheriff or from the Receiver, and so to be allowed upon their accounts. And in this I humbly beseech the assistance of some others that may always be an eye<sup>1</sup> witnesses of my just proceedings herein. It is requisite (if it so stand with your Honours' pleasures) to direct some good course herein, for there is no order taken as yet ; and if they had not been relieved by Mr. Justice Peryam's and others' good means, they had starved ere now. And so, with my humble duty, I rest from further troubling your Honours. Cockington, this 6th of October, 1588.

Your Lordships' to be commanded,

GEORGE CARY.

<sup>1</sup> Yee.



October 6.—ORDER TO QUARLES FOR  
PAYMENT.

[B.M. Egerton MS. 1525, f. 16.—Signed. Addressed. Endorsed.]

The charge of victualling 258 men serving her Majesty in these ships of Bristol following, for two months :—

The Minion	.	.	.	110	} 258 men
Unicorn	.	.	.	66	
Handmaid	.	.	.	56	
Aid	.	.	.	26	

Victualled for 5 days, begun the 19th of	£	s.	d.
June, ended the 23rd of the same,	37	12	6
at 7d. a man per diem			
And for 51 days, begun the 24th of June,			
and ended the 14th of August, at 6d.	328	19	0
a man per diem			
Sum, 366l. 11s. 6d.			

Ex<sup>d</sup> per DARELL.

We do acknowledge that these ships have served her Majesty all this time, and were victualled by Mr. Darell for the said time.

C. HOWARD. JOHN HAWKYN.  
W. WYNTER. WILLM. HOLSTOK.

Make an order for payment hereof.

W. BURGHLEY.

*October 8.—COMPARISON OF CHARGES.*

[ccxvii. 12.—Wynter's autograph, but not signed.<sup>1</sup> Endorsed, in Burghley's hand :—A comparison betwixt the expenses for five years afore Mr. Hawkyns' bargain and of the five years since the bargain of Mr. Hawkyns. Sir Wm. Wynter's declaration.]

It may please your Lordship to call to mind that in February,<sup>2</sup> 1584, there was an account delivered to your Lordship by me and other of my fellows, wherein is showed what the charge was of ordinary and extraordinary for her Majesty's navy, in harbour, for 5 years last before the first undertaking of the bargain for the ordinary; the which, besides the new building and repairing of ships in dry docks, did amount to the sum of 29,413*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*,<sup>3</sup> which being divided into 5 parts, maketh the charge of each year to be 5,882*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*

By the same account was also showed that the like charge for ordinary and extraordinary, besides new buildings and repairing of ships in dry docks, for five years next ensuing the first undertaking of the said bargain, did stand her Majesty in the sum of 25,377*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, which being divided into 5 equal parts, showeth the charge of each year to be 5,075*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* So as, by comparing the said accounts together, it may seem her Highness hath saved in the latter 5 years 4,036*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, which falleth out for each of the 5 years 807*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

But it is to be considered that, in the five years

<sup>1</sup> Though not signed, there is no pretence at anonymity. The paper is a serious charge against Hawkyns; but between Wynter and Hawkyns there was not much love.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Phebr. The account referred to does not seem to be extant.

<sup>3</sup> All these sums are interpreted in the margin, in Burghley's hand, thus :—xxix<sup>m</sup> iiii<sup>c</sup> xiii<sup>li</sup> xvi<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>.

before the bargain, there was bestowed upon the ordinary, for ransacking,<sup>1</sup> repairing and trimming of the said ships in harbour, in wages and victuals of carpenters, caulkers and labourers, and provisions for the same works, the sum of 2,200*l.* yearly, which in my conscience was no more than needed ; and if there were any evil dealing in the expending thereof (as I know none), the same was in the master shipwrights whom we trusted.

Likewise it is to be considered that the latter 5 years of the bargain there was assigned out of the 4,000*l.* *os. od.* which was appointed for the ordinary but 1,000*l.* *os. od.* for the doing of the like works and charges before declared, viz., wages and victuals of carpenters, caulkers and labourers, and provision for the same works ; and so it appeareth that there was laid out in the former 5 years 6,000*l.* *os. od.* more than in the latter 5 years for the like works in repairing and trimming of the ships, which was yearly a charge of 1,200*l.* *os. od.* more than in the latter 5 years. And if the office had forborne the expending of the said 1,200*l.* *os. od.* yearly for the former 5 years (as in duty it was not thought convenient), then the charge of the ordinary and extraordinary in harbour, besides the new building and repairing of ships in dry docks, would have been for the said 5 years 1,963*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* less than was spent in the latter 5 years, which is yearly 392*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

It may be alleged that her Majesty's ships, with the 1,000*l.* *os. od.* yearly since the bargain, hath been as well and sufficiently ransacked, trimmed, repaired and done as they were in the former 5 years with the charge of 2,200*l.* yearly ; the which in my conscience is most untrue. And for better trial, if her Majesty be pleased to call the master shipwrights,

<sup>1</sup> Ransacking appears to mean thoroughly overhauling and examining.



workmen of all sorts, clerks, and any other that had dealings in the works in the former or latter times, to declare their knowledge and conscience, upon their oaths, then I doubt not but the truth will be manifested.

And if these reasons before set down may not satisfy, then let the whole charge for ordinary and extraordinary, since the first taking of the bargain to this day, be collected and truly set down. In the doing thereof there must be good regard had to the new titles used in the account of this latter time, viz., charges for provisions of double furniture, charges of new buildings of wharves and houses, transportations, and such like, which in the former time, before the bargain, were comprised under the titles of ordinary and extraordinary in harbour; and thereby shall manifestly appear that the said sparing of the ordinary in repairing, trimming and ransacking of her Majesty's ships in this latter time, hath bred a far greater charge to her Highness than was in the like time before the bargain; besides the clouterly<sup>1</sup> patching and doing of the same, very discommodious in the use of the ships.

*Oct. 9.—THE CHARGE OF THE LONDON SHIPS.*

[ccxvii. 13.—Signed. Endorsed, with a minute by Burghley:—To be considered by the officers of the Admiralty of the reasonableness of the demand and time of the service.—W. Burghley.]

A note of the 8 ships appointed to be sent to the Lord Harry Seymour, into the Narrow Seas, the 25th of July, 1588, under the conduct of Mr. Nicholas Gorges, Esquire.

<sup>1</sup> Clumsy.



The names of the ships and their numbers of men :—

	Men
The Susan Parnell of London . . . . .	80
Solomon . . . . .	80
George Bonaventure . . . . .	80
Anne Frances . . . . .	70
Vineyard . . . . .	60
Violet . . . . .	60
Samuel . . . . .	50
Jane Bonaventure . . . . .	50

Sum of the men 530

The 26th of July the ships and men entered into pay, and, from that day, was victualled for one whole month.

	£	s.	d.
The victualling of 530 men for one month, after 14s. per man—sum .	371	0	0
For press of 530 men, at 12d. per man .	26	10	0
For the pressors due, after 4d. per man	8	16	8
Sum	406	6	8

*October 12.—INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE LORD PRIMATE AND OTHERS.*

[S P. Ireland, cxxxvii. 14.]

W. Fytzwylliam.—Instructions for the Lord Primate, Sir Henry Wallop, knight, and David Gwynn, gent., or any two of them, to be dealt in with the Spanish prisoners at Drogheda.

1. Imprimis :—You shall inquire from whence they came, by whom they were entertained ; in what ship they came forth, for what cause, and how many of them came on land here ?

2. Item.—You shall inquire what quality the persons were that came forth in their said ship, and how many of them are dead, or drowned, or killed since their coming forth?

3. Item.—You shall inquire how they came into the north, either by shipwreck or otherwise; how they were entertained and relieved upon their landing, and by whom; how many of them were killed before they were taken, how many after, and how many escaped with their lives that be now in the country, and in what manner and order they themselves were taken and used?

4. Item.—To know what money, jewels, plate, apparel, or furniture for the war the captains took from them, or from any of their company, and what any of the soldiers or Irishry likewise had of them?

5. Item.—To inquire what he is that is with O'Donnell's wife, and what those were that remained with the Earl of Tyrone, and how many in number?

6. Item.—What they were that were killed between their coming out of O'Donnell's country and the Newry, being such as were not able to travel?

7. Who brought them any chains, jewels, or money since they came to Drogheda, and who sent the same unto them?

8. Item.—Whether any of Drogheda have any chains, jewels, or money of theirs in custody, and who they be?

9. To know of them who of this country's birth were with them in Spain, and what their names be that were shipped either with them or in any other of their ships?

10. Item.—To know whether James Fitz-morris's son came out of Spain; if he did, in what ship, and what became of him?

11. Item.—To know whether they left any plate, money, jewels, or other things with the Earl of Tyrone, or with O'Donnell, or his wife, and what the same were?

12. Item.—To know what friendship they have received since they came to Drogheda, and what their names be that showed the same?

13. Item.—To know how many ships fell upon this north coast where they landed, and how many were in every ship?

14. Item.—To know if the captains upon their first landing did make any promise unto them, and if they did, what the same?

*October 13.—EXAMINATION OF PRISONERS.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 15.]

13th of October, 1588. *Apud* Drogheda.

Examination taken of the Spanish prisoners remaining at Drogheda, by virtue of a commission from the Lord Deputy and Council, dated the 12th of October, 1588, and certain interrogatories to the same annexed, directed to the Lord of Ardmaugh, Sir Henry Wallop, knight &c., and David Gwynn, gent., or any two of them.

1. Imprimis:—Don Alonso de Luzon, master of the camp of the tercio of Naples, being 10 ensigns containing 1,800 men, examined upon the first interrogatory saith, upon his oath, they came from Naples aforesaid, and were entertained by King Philip, being of his old garrison of Naples, and sent on this journey to go into Flanders to the Duke of Parma. But what they should do further than ot be at the same duke's direction was known

to the Privy Council, and not to him. He saith they landed in O'Doherty's country, out of the ship called Valencera, de Venecia,<sup>1</sup> being a very great ship, but of what certain burden he knoweth not, about 400 and 50 men, whereof many sick and weak, besides which, 100 and upwards were drowned in coming to the shore, being common soldiers and mariners. In this ship, when she came from Lisbon, there were, as he saith, 400 soldiers and 4 score and odd mariners and gunners, of which men that were drowned and did land here, 4 days before their coming to shore they took out of the hulk called the Bark of Hamburg<sup>2</sup> 100 men, and the captain of them, called Don Beltran del Salto, and the master of the said hulk, called Jaques Flamenco.

2. To the 2nd interrogatory he saith that he and other of his company have set down under their hands the names of all the men of quality that was in the same ship. He saith that they did lack, besides the 3 gentlemen that died in Drogheda, 8 or 9 of those men of quality who landed with the rest ; but what is become of them, whether they be dead or alive, he knoweth not.

3. To the 3rd interrogatory he saith they landed by shipwreck as many of them as they could in a broken boat of their own, some swam to shore, and the rest were landed in a boat of O'Doherty's country, for the use of which they gave in money and apparel 200 ducats. Touching their entertainment when they came on land, he saith that he and 5 more of the best of his company landed first, only with their rapiers in their hands, where they

<sup>1</sup> La Trinidad Valencera, of 1,100 tons, 42 guns ; 281 soldiers, 79 mariners (Duro, ii. 63).

<sup>2</sup> Barca de Amburg, of 600 tons ; 239 soldiers, 25 mariners (*ib.*, ii. 64). Except these 100, they seem to have been all lost (see *post*, p. 275).



found 4 or 5 savage people—as he termeth them—who bade them welcome and well used them, until some twenty more wild men came unto them, after which time they took away a bag of money containing 1000 reals of plate and a cloak of blue rash, richly laid with gold lace. They were about two days in landing all their men, and being landed, had very ill entertainment, finding no other relief of victual in the country than of certain garrans,<sup>1</sup> which they bought of poor men for their money, which garrans they killed and did eat, and some small quantity of butter that the common people brought also to sell. Who they were that brought those things unto them he knoweth not, only it was in O'Doherty's country ; and saith that before he and the rest of the gentlemen of the company yielded themselves, none were slain by the savage people. Item, he saith that the killing by the soldiers and the savage people was the same night that he and the rest of the gentlemen had yielded, at which he was not, and therefore knoweth not how many were slain, nor how many remain alive.

He saith he and the whole company yielded themselves, within 6 or 7 days after their landing, to the captains that carried the Queen's ensigns, O'Donnell and his wife being present, upon condition that their lives should be saved till they came to the Viceroy, and that they should be suffered to repair unto him, every private soldier with one suit of apparel, and every gentleman with two ; incontinent whereupon they laid down 350 muskets and calivers and some few pikes to her Majesty's use, because they yielded in her name, all which were seized on by John Kelly, whom they term sergeant-major, and Captain Richard Hovenden's lieutenant ; after which

<sup>1</sup> Horses : Irish, *gearran*.

their promise was not kept with them, but the soldiers and savage people spoiled them of all they had.

4. To the 4th he saith he knoweth not what money, jewels, plate and apparel was taken from the whole company, but for his own part he lost in plate, jewels, money and apparel, that was taken from his servants, above the value of 3,000 ducats ; but who took the same he knoweth not, only one of his men told him that he who termed himself sergeant-major to the two captains took his plate, which he esteemeth worth 1,000 ducats and more ; and further than he hath said in the 3rd interrogatory touching the artillery he cannot say.

5. To the 5th he saith he certainly knoweth not who it is that is remaining with O'Donnell's wife, but thinketh it is Captain Miranda, who was captain of a ship and a company also, but being discharged of his company at Lisbon, he left his ship also and came unto this as a private man, who was very sick when this examine saw him last. He also saith that there staid with the Earl of Tyrone, that were sick, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, Don Antonio Manrique, Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, auditor of the tercio of Naples, and one soldier whose name he knoweth not ; and these are as many in number as he knoweth that did stay with the Earl of Tyrone.

6. To the 6th he saith there were none killed in the coming between O'Donnell's country and the Newry, but certain gentlemen of account died on the way, whose names ensue :—Don Garcia de Avila, Don Gaspar de Avila, his brother, Don Christobal Maldonado. Hernando Cañaveral dead, and Don Diego de Guzman he thinketh is also dead.

7. To the 7th he saith that since their coming to Drogheda there was neither chains, jewels, nor money sent to him, or any of the rest, to his knowledge.

8. To the 8th he saith that none of Drogheda have any money, chains, or jewels in custody of his or any of the rest, that he knoweth of.

9. To the 9th he saith he knoweth not the names of those of this country's birth that were in Spain when he came from thence, but did see a tall young gentleman, with a red beard and of sanguine complexion, of whose name he knoweth not. He heard of three others ; but the said young gentleman came forth with the navy, but in what ship he knoweth not.

10. To the 10th he saith he knoweth not James Fitzmorris' son, nor any that doth call himself by the name of Earl of Desmond.

11. To the 11th he saith that neither he nor any of his company, to his knowledge, did leave any plate, jewels, or money with the Earl of Tyrone or O'Donnell's wife, or any other, more than what was taken by force, as aforesaid.

12. To the 12th he saith that since his coming to Drogheda he hath received no friendship, neither hath any of his company to his knowledge.

13. To the 13th he saith he knoweth not that any other ship fell upon the north coast, saving the same that he was in.

14. To the 14th, more then he hath said in his answer to the 3rd interrogatory he cannot say.

Being asked what became of the admiral of the hulks and the hulk called the Black Castle,<sup>1</sup> who were in company when the Bark of Hamburg sank, he saith they lost the sight of them at the same time, and never heard of them since.

Being further examined what store of ordnance came in his ship, he saith 32 pieces of brass and iron, whereof 4 were cannons of brass ; but of what kinds

<sup>1</sup> Castillo Negro, of 750 tons, 279 soldiers, 34 mariners (Duro, ii. 64).



the rest were, how many of brass, or how many of iron, he knoweth not, neither whether the same will be saved or not.

Being asked what treasure of the King's there was in this ship, he saith none. Being demanded whether any were in the ship of greater degree than himself or those here, he saith none were.

Being asked of his knowledge what treasure the King sent in the whole navy, he saith of himself he knoweth not, but hath heard some say 600,000 ducats and some 700,000, part whereof was shipped in the vice-admiral to Admiral Oquendo, and the rest in other ships, whose names he knoweth not.

Being asked in what sort Horatio Donago entered into this voyage, he saith he was taken and pressed by the King's officers at Sicilia to bring part of the 2,000 men of the tercio of Sicilia to Lisbon, where he laboured to procure his discharge, but could not, as the camp-master of the tercio of Sicilia told this examinee; and of himself he knoweth that the Marquis of Santa Cruz did command the said Horatio to grave his ship, who refused so to do because he would have been discharged of the voyage.

*October 14.—CARY TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxvii. 21.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My humble duty to your good Lordships:—Sithence the writing of my last letters unto your Honours, I have been advertised that the Spanish prisoners remaining in our house of correction near the city of Exeter, and which are in number 211, are in some distress for want of relief to sustain them; and therefore inasmuch as my associate



refuseth to follow those directions it pleased your Honours jointly to command us both in this service, the necessity of the case so requiring; I have, with the advice of Sir Thomas Denys and of the Mayor of Exeter and his brethren, taken order, for these 14 days, to relieve their misery, in allowing to each of them  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per diem, and to some of them  $2d.$  per diem; and have disbursed the money out of my purse, to make provision for victuals at the best and cheapest hand; for otherwise they must needs have perished through hunger, and possibly thereby have bred some infection, which might be dangerous to our country.

And therefore, presuming of your Lordships' good allowance of my doing herein, do humbly desire your Honours' directions to have some others to be joined unto me; for that I am loth to meddle in such a charge without the assistance of some others, that may always be an eye-witness of my just dealings; and that it would please your Lordships to appoint from whence there might be some money had beforehand, to provide their victuals in good order, wherein a third part of the charge would be saved; for I dare assure your Lordships that  $2d.$  per diem, with some other allowances for fire and other necessities, will suffice for their maintenance. There hath also heretofore been defrayed for their relief the sum of fifteen pounds, for the which I have also given my word to see it repaid; and therefore shall humbly desire your Honours' allowance of the same. And touching your Lordships' letters of the last of September concerning the Spanish goods, I see there is such havoc made thereof that I am ashamed to write what spoils I see. And though I have spoken and written to Sir John Gilberte to understand of his proceedings, and what is become of all the wines

I left in his custody, yet I can receive no direct answer from him ; but this I know by others, that all the best wines are gone. It were well, if it so stood with your Lordships' pleasures, that we both might answer our doings before your Honours. And so, humbly beseeching your Lordships to receive your directions in these causes, as also concerning the Spanish prisoners, I cease from further troubling your Honours. Cockington, this 14th of October, 1588.

Your Lordships' to be commanded,  
GEORGE CARY.

*October 14.—CARY TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxvii. 22.—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir :—I think I shall never rest troubling your Honour ; for sithence my last letters unto you, I am so exclaimes on to give some relief to these Spanish prisoners to keep them from famine, that I am eftsoons enforced to be an humble suitor to your Honour and the rest of my Lords for some other directions for their maintenance ; for Sir John Gilberte is not disposed to take pain where no gain cometh, and the authority that their Lordships gave was jointly unto us both, and so I can do little by myself. Notwithstanding, with the advice of some others, I have presumed, under the favourable allowance of my Lords, to disburse some money out of my own purse, to make some provision to buy victuals to sustain their present miserable estate, allowing unto some of them  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per diem and to others  $2d.$  per diem. And whereas their Lordships, by their former letter to Sir John Gilberte and myself, did allow  $4d.$  per diem to each of them, I will

assure your Honour that they may be very well maintained for 2*d.* per diem, so<sup>1</sup> that their Lordships will appoint some money to be received beforehand, to buy in their provision. In this I humbly beseech your Honour's and their Lordships' speedy directions. And touching the Spanish goods, notwithstanding their Lordships' letters, and though I have spoke and written to Sir John Gilberte to be acquainted with his proceedings, and how he hath disposed of the wines and some other of the goods, I can yet receive no direct answer. The best wines are all gone; the tackle of the ship so spoiled by his negligent looking unto, that 200*l.* in ropes and other necessities will not suffice to set her to the seas again. My Lords should do well to examine these spoils, either by themselves or by some others they shall appoint. Thus, with my humble duty to your Honour, I most humbly take my leave. Cockington, this 14th of October, 1588.

Your Honour's most bounden,  
GEORGE CARY.

*October 18.—LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL  
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 25.—Signed.]

It may please your Lordships :—There hath been lately delivered unto us an information of the lewd and undutiful behaviour of David Gwynn, sent hither by your Lordships to view the Spanish prisoners in Tredagh<sup>2</sup> and other places, by a gentleman named Eustace Harte, who met him at Rochelle soon after his escape out of the galley. The report,

<sup>1</sup> Provided that.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Tredath : Drogheda.

as we have learned, hath been since here spread at some tables abroad, and being lately in secrecy delivered by the gentleman himself to the Master of the Rolls at length, it was by him revealed to me, the Deputy, and six others of this Council, conferring together for a preparation against the Spaniards in Tyrconnel.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon we caused the gentleman to set down his information under his hand ; which the next day he did before us whose names are hereunto subscribed, who likewise have in duty thought good not only to send the same enclosed verbatim unto your Lordships, but also therewith both the accuser and the accused, to receive their due deserts. We would with all willingness have here proceeded to the correction and punishment of the offender, had not your Lordships signified your pleasure for the speedy return of Gwynn, whom, as in other things—as, namely, in the embezzling, impairing and concealing of such chains, gold and money as he took from the Spanish prisoners at Tredagh, to the value of 160*l*.—we have found a most lewd man, so in this information we are most assuredly persuaded in our consciences that he hath most injuriously abused that honourable gentleman ; and herein hath committed so great a villainy as justly deserveth most severe punishment. And therefore we earnestly wish that, in regard of this new and rare precedent of most extreme villainy, the offender may be made a public example, to terrify others from the like offence, the rather because the honour, credit, innocency and loyalty of the best and greatest personages in the world is interested in this cause, which we humbly refer to your grave considerations. And so, with the remembrance of our

<sup>1</sup> Nearly identical with the modern Donegal.



humble duties, take leave. From her Majesty's castle of Dublin, the 18th of October, 1588.

Your Lordships' ever most humble to command,

W. FYTZWYLLIAM.

AD. DUBLIN, Canc.

THOS. MIDENSIS.

ROBT. DILLON.

VALENTINE BROWNE.

H. WALLOP.

LUCAS DILLON.

RO. GARDENER.

GEFF. FENTON.<sup>1</sup>

G. BOWRCHIER.

*Oct. 16.—DECLARATION OF EUSTACE HARTE.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 25, I.—Signed. Endorsed.]

A declaration of me, Eustace Harte, gentleman, before Sir William Fytzwylliam, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and others of her Majesty's Council, the 16th day of October, 1588, concerning David Gwynn.

I, the said Harte, had been some eight or nine months in a town of garrison of the King of Navarre, under the government of Monsieur de Plasack, called Pons,<sup>2</sup> and did take my leave of the governor the 30th of July last, with letters to his Majesty, then lying at Rochelle. But having some occasion of business with one Monsieur de Treilleboys, dwelling in the Isle of Allvart,<sup>3</sup> did stay some 5 or 6 days, and from thence did take

<sup>1</sup> The Members of the Council here signing are: Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Henry Wallop, Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars; Sir Robert Gardener, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir George Bowrchier; Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin; Sir Valentine Browne; Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of the Council.

<sup>2</sup> In Charente Inférieure; then a place of some strength.

<sup>3</sup> The Peninsula of Arvert.

boat towards Rochelle, thinking to find his Majesty there, and to have passage for England. In which boat were 3 galley slaves that came lately from the galley cast on shore near to Bayonne in France; which galley slaves reported unto me, and the rest that were in the boat, that the galley, being sore broken with the weather at sea, were driven to take shore to save themselves, and that the governor of the galley and the rest of the Spaniards did remain with the governor of the town of Bayonne until the King of France's pleasure were further known. And asking them what Englishmen were in their galley with them, answered but some two or three. Then at my arrival at Rochelle, which was upon Thursday, the 13th of August,<sup>1</sup> or thereabouts, which very day the King went from Rochelle and took his voyage to meet with Duke Mercœur,<sup>2</sup> Governor of Brittany. And on the Friday following, an English galley slave, whose name was David Gwynn, came to Rochelle with divers others which saved themselves as the rest. And this Gwynn, being in necessity and want, sought for some relief of the English merchants; and telling them much news of the Spanish fleet—as they affirmed to me—and of divers intelligences that the Spaniards should have out of England, did make report that, amongst others, a Spanish secretary had showed him a letter which should come from Mr. Secretary Walsyngham, whose name he did see in writing—Francisco Walsyngham (not permitted to see any more than his name); but that the said Spanish secretary said he was wholly for them, and he would deliver her Majesty's person into their hands. Which merchants, hearing him to report thus lewdly, one amongst the rest, named Thomas Hayward, a

<sup>1</sup> August 13 was a Tuesday; or by New Style, a Saturday.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Marcurye.

merchant of Chester, lodging with me at one Patrick Hughes, an Irishman, told unto me the report of this galley slave ; and for the better confirmation of the tale was desirous to bring this Gwynn to my chamber, that I might hear the speeches which he had uttered to the merchants. The said David Gwynn, being asked by the said Thomas Hayward in the presence of me, did there confirm that which he had before spoken ; saying, further, that he had divers and sundry times wrote unto her Majesty, and that he had yet to disclose many things at his coming over into England unto her Majesty of her enemies in England, and that of the best sort ; and, moreover, did take forth a paper out of his pocket, wherein were written certain verses by him of her Majesty, concerning the estate of England, and did name her Majesty by the name of Bess.

Mr. Hayward, being offended in his mind, desired me that if it were possible to get that lewd prating fellow punished ; but I wished this merchant to bestow somewhat of him, and to let him alone in that place, whereby there might more be gathered of him, saying that the Council of England would soon find him.

EUSTACE HARTE.

Signed by the said Eustace Harte in the presence of us.

W. FYTZWYLLIAM.

AD. DUBLIN, Canc.

THOS. MIDENSIS.

H. WALLOP.

ROBERT DILLON.

RO. GARDENER.

G. BOWRCHIER.

LUCAS DILLON.

N. WHITE.

GEFF. FENTON.

*Oct. 18.—FYTZWYLLIAM TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 26.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir :—What event hath here fallen out upon Gwynn's employment albeit by letters sent by this

bearer from me and this Council to their Lordships and your Honour doth appear, yet could I not be satisfied without writing these few lines unto you, to manifest how far it is from me to think that you—whose long approved zeal and loyalty to God's church and her Majesty hath the attestations of all men in general, and of myself, with my life and all I possess, in particular, to clear you—should be guilty of the least minute wherewith this caitiff—unworthy of life—hath so villainously charged you; and therefore do most earnestly beseech you so to construe of this our proceeding as of that which, I protest, we have specially done in the love and honour we bear you, and the desire we have had that so detestable a fact might be severely punished; and withal for myself, to assure you that to the uttermost of my power I will stand for and defend your loyalty and innocency—even with the loss of my blood—as I will mine own, which God and my conscience know to be unspotted. All which referring to your honourable consideration, and myself to all the honour and service I may do you, I humbly take leave. From her Majesty's castle of Dublin, the 18th of October, 1588.

Your Honour's ever assured to command,  
W. FYTZWYLLIAM.

*October 18.—N. WHITE<sup>1</sup> TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 28.—Signed. Addressed.]

My humble duty remembered to your Honour :—  
It may please the same to understand it hath been my hope of late to be made acquainted with a cause that toucheth you, wherein I did seek to use all the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls.



good means that might express my dutiful affection towards you, as Sir Harry Wallop and Sir Lucas Dillon can witness, and do hope that your Honour will even so accept of it. The matter is this. A young gentleman, Eustace Harte, nephew to Mr. Auditor Peyton, who professeth greatly to love and honour you, did of himself, upon like opinion conceived of me and through my acquaintance with his uncle, reveal unto me certain false and slanderous speeches given out in his hearing, of you, by one Gwynn, lately come hither, requesting me to impart the same to the Lord Deputy, to the end the party might not escape unpunished, which I did, of a reverend regard and faithful meaning towards your Honour. And upon Harte his avouching of the speeches under his handwriting, delivered to the Lord Deputy, the said Gwynn was committed, and is now sent over to receive his well deserved punishment, having been also condemned afore us here of manifest falsehood and perjury touching the embezzling of certain chains of gold and coin received by him of the Spaniards to her Majesty's use. After some muttering abroad of this fellow's speeches, and afore I had heard anything hereof, it was thought that through the guiltiness of his own conscience he meant to have stolen away, if he had not been apprehended. And for that I was not at the signing of the letters written by the Lord Deputy and Council to your Honour touching this matter, I thought it my part to signify unto you how far and upon what occasion I dealt therein, humbly craving your favourable construction of my good meaning in the same; and so humbly take my leave. From Dublin, this 19th of October, 1588.

Your Honour's humbly and heartily to command,  
N. WHITE.

October 28.—FYTZWYLLIAM TO WALSYNGHAM.

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 48.—Signed. Addressed.]

Sir :—Having for the more expedition sent afore by my man Morris, as well such letters as advertise the state of our occurrents here, as also those which particularly concern Harte and Gwynn, committed to the charge of this bearer my servant, likewise sent for the safe bringing of them unto their Lordships, I thought it meet, to the end both he and they might have the better and more convenient access unto you, to accompany him with these few lines only to signify the same. And so, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take leave, and commit your Honour to the Almighty's protection. From the castle of Dublin, 28th of October, 1588.

Your Honour's ever assured to command,

W. FYTZWYLLIAM.

I send you enclosed the copy of a letter, which I received from Captain Merriman while this was in writing, which confirmeth that there cannot be gone above 300 of all the men which landed, neither have they now any one vessel left to carry the rest away ; and since it hath pleased God, by his hand, upon the rocks to drown the greater and better sort of them, I will, with his favour, be his soldier for the despatching of those rags which yet remain.

[Ireland, cxxxvii. 48, I.—Enclosure in preceding. Endorsed :—  
A copy of a letter of Captain Merriman.]

Right Honourable :—With regard of my most humble duty, I thought good to acquaint your Honour with the occurrents here, that the Spanish ship which arrived in Tyrconnel with the McSweeny was on Friday the 18th of this present descried over against Dunluce, and by rough weather was perished,

so that there was driven to the land, being drowned, the number of 260 persons, with certain butts of wine, which Sorley Boy hath taken up for his use. All these his messengers told me, whom I met passing hitherwards with the same news. Thus most humbly &c. &c.

*October.—ALLOWANCE FOR SHIPS BURNED.*

[ccxvii. 71.—Endorsed.]

Rate for allowances for the ships burned for the firing of the Spanish navy :—

	£	s.	d.
Captain Yonge's <sup>1</sup> flyboat, of the burden of 140 tons, or thereabouts, valued at	550	0	0
Cure's ship, <sup>2</sup> of the burden of 150 tons, valued at . . . . .	600	0	0
The Angel of Hampton, of the burden of 120 tons, valued at . . . . .	450	0	0
The Thomas <sup>3</sup> of Plymouth, of the burden of 200 tons, valued at . . . . .	1,000	0	0
The Bark Talbot, <sup>4</sup> of the burden of 200 tons . . . . .	900	0	0
The Bark Bond, <sup>5</sup> of the burden of 150 tons . . . . .	600	0	0
The Hope, <sup>6</sup> of the burden of 180 tons	600	0	0
The Elizabeth of Lowestoft, of the burden of 90 tons . . . . .	411	10	0
Sum	5,111	10	0

<sup>1</sup> The Bear Yonge (ccxxii. 74); Captain Yonge owner (ccxvi. 18, I.).

<sup>2</sup> It nowhere appears who or what Cure was. It may be an eccentric way of spelling Cary, but neither this ship, nor the Angel, is in any other list.

<sup>3</sup> Belonged to Sir Francis Drake (*ib.*).

<sup>4</sup> A west country ship (*ib.*).

<sup>5</sup> Seems to have belonged to Sir J. Hawkins (*ib.*).

<sup>6</sup> Of Plymouth, William Hart owner (*ib.*).

[ccxvi. 74.]

The particulars of such goods and provision as Thomas Meldrum, merchant, had burnt at Calais road :—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, the ship called the Elizabeth of Lowestoft, of the burden of 90 tons, with all anchors, cables, ropes, masts, sails, tackle and furniture thereto belonging . . . . .	300	0	0
Item, for four fowlers containing 24 cwt., at 24s. per cwt. <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	28	16	0
Item, over and above the foresaid tackle, 1 cable of 10 cwt., one cable of 6 cwt., and a warp of 390, at 20s. per cwt. . . . .	19	10	0
Item, 8 double bases . . . . .	16	0	0
„ 12 calivers . . . . .	6	0	0
„ in shot, 1 cwt. . . . .	1	0	0
„ in powder, 150 lbs. . . . .	7	10	0
„ 12 pikes . . . . .	1	4	0
„ 6 tons of beer, at 42s. per ton . . . . .	12	12	0
„ in biscuit, <sup>2</sup> 15 cwt. . . . .	5	0	0
„ 3 barrels of beef . . . . .	6	0	0
„ 4 firkins of butter . . . . .	2	13	4
„ in fish, 1 cwt. and a half of North Sea cod . . . . .	7	10	0
„ one wey of cheese . . . . .	2	0	0
„ 4 doz. of candles . . . . .	0	14	8
Sum	416	10	0

<sup>1</sup> The cwt., or rather the c., was at this time 100 lbs., and the qr. was 25 lbs.

<sup>2</sup> It seems improbable that in the threatening scarcity of victuals this biscuit, beef, &c., was burnt. Meldrum was very likely trying to get as much as he could, and if the Treasury would pay for the victuals twice over, so much the better for him ; but it nowhere appears that he got it.



Item, he asketh allowance for the ship's service, and for bringing of 30 men from Dartmouth to my Lord Admiral's and other her Majesty's ships, and for his wages.

*November 5.—CARY TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxviii. 4.—Holograph. Addressed.]

My humble duty unto your good Lordships :—  
Forthwith upon the receipt of your Honours' letters of the 21st of the last month, I rode presently to Plymouth, where, understanding that the Roebuck being there then in harbour, and ready, as they said, with the next good wind to depart, I signified unto the mayor of the town of Plymouth and the officers there, and likewise to Jacob Whiddon, captain of the said Roebuck, what your Lordships' pleasure was—that such brass pieces that were taken out of the Spanish carrack whereof Don Pedro had charge should be laid on shore and put in safe keeping to her Majesty's use. And for the better satisfying of them for that point, did show unto them your Honours' warrant, which they promised to obey and perform. The said Jacob Whiddon confesseth the having but of 10 brass pieces, whereof he saith he laid one on shore at Portland. I did appoint Mr. William Hawkyns to receive those other 9 brass pieces, and likewise the 2 brass pieces in Founes' pinnace, and keep them to her Highness's use until your Lordships' pleasure were further known.

And during my abode there, having understanding that one of the Spanish fleet was cast on shore (at a place called Hope near Salcombe), and the great pilfering and spoils that the country people made, I rode thither and took order for the

restoring and rehaving again of all such things as either by search or inquiry I could find out, and have put the same in inventory. And took order, for the orderly saving of the rest, as weather would give leave, to have the same on land, appointing two head constables to attend that service, and they and others to keep several inventories. The ship is a hulk, and called *St. Peter the Great*,<sup>1</sup> one of those two ships which were appointed for the hospital to the whole navy. She is in burden, as they say, 550 tons, but I think not so much. The ship is not to be recovered ; she lieth on a rock, and full of water to her upper decks. They confess that there were put into her, at her coming out of Spain, 30 mariners, 100 soldiers, 50 appertaining to the hospital. There are now remaining about a hundred forty, or thereabouts. There was put into her as much drugs and pothecary stuff as came to 6,000 ducats, of which I think there will come little good of the same, being in the water almost this sennight, the weather such as none could get aboard. There hath been some plate and certain ducats rifled and spoiled at their first landing, both from their persons and out of their chests. The ship, I think, will prove of no great value ; the ordnance is all iron, and no brass ; their ground tackle all spent, save only one new cable. There are no men of account in the ship—soldiers and such as have risen by service, and bestowed all their wealth in this action. I have severed the captains and chiefest of them, to the number of 10 persons, from the rest ; eight of them I left to the charge of Sir William Courteney, and two of them, the one being the pothecary, the other the sergeant, I took to myself ; the others are put in safe keeping, and guarded both day and night ; and

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix F.

have appointed  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  a day to every of them, to make provision for their sustenance, until your Lordships' pleasures were further known ; which I humbly desire may be with some speed, for that the charge of these, and those of Bridewell, grow somewhat heavy unto me. I disburse the money myself, for money is not to be received for the wines, Sir John Gilberte having disposed already of all the best ; the rest, through ill usage in this country, will yield but little, nor good for anything, as I think, save only to make aquavitæ of, or such like. I would humbly desire the gift of those two Spaniards which I have, not for any profit, but I make trial what skill is in them. I am given to understand that there is remaining 14 barrels of powder in the Samaritan, of such as I caused to be taken out of the Spanish carrack and appointed to have been sent and delivered unto my Lord Admiral in the late service, according to my Lord's direction ; but the same was never delivered, and doth yet remain in the Samaritan, as I am informed. And so I humbly take my leave. Cockington, this 5th of November, 1588.

Upon the finishing of my letter I received a letter from the Mayor of Plymouth and other the officers there, which I send herein enclosed unto your Honours.

Your Honours' always to be commanded,  
 GEORGE CARY.

*November 7.—GILBERTE TO THE COUNCIL.*

[ccxviii. 6.—Signed. Addressed.]

My duty unto your Honours most humbly remembered :—I have this day received advertisements by one Richard Blackater of Totness, merchant, that



came presently from St. Malo ; and the report there is, by a ship that came lately out of Spain, that the Duke of Medina was arrived, and hurt in one of his legs. Being at the Court, the King would not see him, but commanded him to his house. And there are 50 of the fleet arrived on the coast of Spain. The King prepared for another fleet, to be of 150 sail of ships and 50 galleys ; he says French ships and all others of 80 tons and upwards. The King is coming in person to see the performance of this fleet into Biscay, and hath executed sundry of his officers that had the charge of the victualling of this last navy, for that the victual was bad, and not the quantity that they ought to have provided.

He further says that there is 1,000 tons of the best and serviceablest ships of St. Malo's freighted for Spain, and they determine to carry victual, and expect plenty of Newfoundland fish, and pilchards to come to them out of these west parts. And hereupon, I have sent to the justices of Cornwall to make stay of the pilchards there, and to Plymouth and Dartmouth, that no victuals be transported till your Honours' pleasure be herein known. In Dartmouth there are some ready to depart with fish to St. Malo, which I have sent to the mayor to stay. Hoping of your Honours' good acceptance of this my duty, till further direction from your Honours, most humbly I take my leave. Greenway, this 7th of November, 1588. Your Honours' most humbly to command,

JOHN GILBERTE.

*November 12.*—ANTHONY ASHLEY TO THE COUNCIL.

[ccxviii. 14.—Signed. Addressed.]

May it please your Lordships :—Having received letters of the fifth of this present, I have accordingly



acquainted the gentlemen with your Lordships' pleasure for the deferring of the execution of the Spaniards, and do herein enclose a schedule of the names of those of the best sort, with their offices, quality, and their offers for ransom, as also of all the rest of the meanest sort, and likewise such of other nations as came in the ship; with such other particularities touching the said persons as I thought necessary. But concerning the drugs, we have not found any of value, though by confession of the apothecary of the Spaniards, there were to the value of 6,000 ducats at the time of their arrival here; but the simples which are of value cannot yet be found out; those drugs which are saved are compounds, and therefore esteemed nothing worth. We have used what means we thought meetest, by examination and otherwise, to cause such money, ordnance and other goods as have been embezzled to be restored, the particularities whereof as of all other things committed to my charge as soon as may be shall be advertised to your Lordships.<sup>1</sup>

By late examinations taken of the Spaniards, I find that certain bezoar<sup>2</sup> stones and other simples, to the value abovesaid, were purloined out of the ship, of which bezoar stones I hope to recover the most of them. I have been bold to stay this messenger hitherto, thinking I should have been able to have advertised some certainty of them, but must now leave the same to my return, which shall be as speedily as I may. The ship being run upon rocks by the Spaniards, is now through the tempestuous weather broken in pieces and scattered on the seashore, and order is taken for the saving of such things of the same as are anything worth.

It may please your Lordships to signify your

<sup>1</sup> Note in the margin : The inventory not perfected.

<sup>2</sup> MS. besar.

pleasure touching such of the company that are not Spaniards, as of the rest, as soon as your Lordships shall think convenient, for avoiding of the charge of their diet. Those Spaniards that offer ransom will also pay for the charge of their diet until their departure, if so your Lordships be pleased to order ; and for the loan of the money for their liberty and growing charges, they would send some one or two to collect and bring over the same. 10 or 12 of the best sort are placed in a town called Kingsbridge, where order is taken for the provision of their wants and account kept of their expenses ; the rest, until your Lordships' further pleasure known, are remaining together in one house, whither they were first committed, where they are safe kept and provided of necessary food.

I am put in great hope to discover things of great value which belonged to the ship wherein Don Pedro was, that are embezzled, where,<sup>1</sup> as soon as this business is ended, I will do her Majesty the best service I can.

I have found Mr. Cary very carefully to travail in this service, to the great furtherance thereof. So I humbly take my leave. From Ilton, Sir Wm. Courteney's house, the 12th of November, 1588.

Your Lordships' most humble,

A. ASHLEY.

[ccxviii. 14, I.—Signed. Endorsed.]

The names, offices and quality or place of all those persons that came in the hulk called St. Peter the Great, which was driven into a bay called Hope, adjoining unto the grounds of Sir William Courteney, and within two miles of Salcombe :—

<sup>1</sup> Wherein.

The monthly pay of officers and of private soldiers	—	Offers for ransom
Ducats <sup>1</sup>		Ducats
40	Diego de Aler, captain of 100 soldiers embarked in the hulk, hath served in the Low Countries in the time of Don Juan, as ancient in the tercio of Don Fernando de Toledo.	—
15	Diego de Salvateria, ensign to the said captain.	20
12	Francisco de Silva, captain of the ship.	—
25	Rodrigo de Calderon, comptroller of the hospital, brother to Coque Calderon, Auditor-General of the army. <sup>2</sup>	80
8	Alonso de Muñoz, gentleman, sergeant of the company.	20
18	Pedro de Samillon, overseer of the hospital.	60
—	Gonzalo and Luis de Castillo, brothers, gentlemen adventurers, of Granada.	150
30	Lopes Ruiz, of Aledida in Estremadura, the chief pothecary of the army.	—
—	Gregorio de Taguada, had the chief charge of the sick.	30
10	Francisco de Medina, the wardrobe keeper.	30
6	Diego Martinez, keeper of the victual and diet of the sick ; is brother to the physician of Juan Martinez de Recalde's.	30
10	Juan Martinez, of Melgar, clerk of the hospital.	20
—	Diego Soliez, gentleman, page to Don Alonso de Leyva ; thinks his master will redeem him.	—
—	Francisco de la Dezima, distributor of the victual and diet of the sick.	—
6	Pedro de las Gueuas, steward of the hospital.	20
7	Pedro Hernandez, corporal of the company.	15
6	Martin Ximenes, assistant to the pothecary.	15

<sup>1</sup> Silver ducats, worth about 3s.

<sup>2</sup> The Auditor-General was Martin de Aranda. Pedro Coco Calderon was a *contador*, an accountant (Duro, ii. 84)

These following, being ordinary private soldiers, their pay 4 ducats the month. [28 of them, offer ransom of 12, 15, 20, two of 30 ducats ; three out of the burnt ship.]

Spaniards that can give no ransom, being soldiers [67 in number], and mariners [11].

Portugal soldiers [13].

French mariners [10].

Italian mariners [2].

Dutch mariners [10].

JOHN GILBERTE.

GEORGE CARY.

A. ASHLEY.

CHR. HARRIS.

*November 15.—JOHN THOMS<sup>1</sup> TO HOWARD.*

[ccxviii. 24.—Signed.]

Right Honourable, my humble duty remembered:—And may it please your Lordship to be advertised of the great Spaniard<sup>2</sup>; she was lost at Studland, but, God be praised, there is saved 34 of our best men ; and there was lost 23 men, whereof 6 of them was Flemings and Frenchmen that came in the same ship out of Spain ; and by good hap there came out of Studland a small man-of-war and saved these men. It may please your Honour, the ship had a new foresail, which was in Nicholas Jones' hands, of Portland Castle, well approved by Mr. George Trenchard. So said Mr. Jones : ' I pray send for it ; you shall have it, and a dozen of oars.' But it was least part of his meaning, for the next day the

<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the prick and check at Portsmouth. In the accounts of the yard, the name appears as Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> The San Salvador, on her way from Weymouth to Portsmouth.



said Jones rode away to London, and left no order to deliver the same sail, neither none could be had. And please your Lordship, I charge him before Mr. Trenchard, that the ship or men should miscarry, that he should answer it ; for truly, if Mr. Jones had not a promised me the sail, I would not a defrayed any moneys upon her, but should a lien still. There be of his neighbours that are saved, and others of the company, that will venture their lives whenever they meet with him ; for all those that are saved will 'depone that he was the casting away the ship and the death of the men. Sithence, and please your Honour, I have been westward, to belay<sup>1</sup> all such masts, yards, shrouds and small ropes or sails that should come ashore, to be kept for the Queen's use or any of her 2 pinnaces. Their anchors,<sup>2</sup> and please your Honour, there are marks taken where they lie, and I have given order that if they may have any fair weather they will sweep for them. There are 4 which weighs 30 hundred a piece, which I hope will help to quite<sup>3</sup> this charge. The Lion, and please your Honour, is come into Portsmouth, and have spent her mainmast, yard, topmast and yard, and topsail ; wherein I have taken order to have it brought into the dock, and I have promised to pay the charges ; but I know not, and please your Honour, whether it be the Queen's charge or my Lord of Cumberland's. Here is no provision in my custody to help any of the Queen's ships if they should need ; not a cable, neither ropes, masts, anchors, spikes, nails ; but 7 bolts medernexes, which is most of them cut afore I came. I humbly rest, praying for your Lordship's health with much

<sup>1</sup> To secure, take possession of. The *N. E. D.* has no instance exactly corresponding to this.

<sup>2</sup> As regards their anchors.

<sup>3</sup> Requite.

increase of honour. From Portsmouth, the 15th of November, 1588.

At your Honour's commandment

to my poor service,

JOHN THOMS.

The ship's masts were oak and clamped<sup>1</sup> together, nothing worth.

*November 26.—CHARGE OF VICTUALLING.*

[ccxviii. 43.]

xxvi<sup>to</sup> die Novembris, 1588.—An estimate of the charge of the victualling, as well her Majesty's own ships, as also all other ships taken to serve with them in warlike manner, from the first of July, 1587, unto the last of December, 1588, being one whole year and half:—

First, the charge of the victualling of	£
her Highness' own ships, by estimation,	
for one year and a half, beginning and	
ending as aforesaid . . . . .	42,161
Item, for the victualling of her Majesty's	
ships in harbour, within the said time,	
by like estimation . . . . .	3,730
Item, for the victualling of sundry ships,	
as well on the Narrow Seas as also in	
the west country and coast of Spain,	
being taken from sundry parts to join	
with her Majesty's navy for their better	
strength, within the said time, by like	
estimation . . . . .	20,440
Summa totalis	66,331

<sup>1</sup> Patched up, built.

*Dec. 3.—SIR R. BINGHAM TO THE QUEEN.*

[Ireland, cxxxix. 2.—Signed. Addressed :—To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.]

Most gracious and dread Sovereign :—My long silence in not acquainting your Majesty with the occurrents of this your Highness's province hath proceeded rather through fear to offend your Majesty by pressing too far into your Highness's presence with my rude and uncomely letters, than any way for want of a serviceable care to answer the trust and charge it hath pleased your Highness to lay upon me. Albeit, finding the manifold benefits and blessings of Almighty God poured upon us, your Highness's subjects, under the excellency of your sovereignty, daily to exceed all others your Majesty's neighbours, I have adventured, in the consideration of my duty and bounty of your Highness's favour towards me, your poor and faithful soldier, to present your Highness now with these humble and few lines, as a thanksgiving to Almighty God for these his daily preservations of your sacred person, and the continual deliverance of us, your Majesty's subjects, from the cruel and bloody hands of your Highness's enemies, and that lastly from the danger of the Spanish forces, defeated first by your Majesty's navy in the Narrow Seas, and sithence overthrown through the wonderful handiwork of Almighty God, by great and horrible shipwrecks upon the coasts of this realm, and most upon the parts and creeks of this province of Connaught, where it hath pleased your Majesty to appoint my service under your Highness's Lord Deputy. Their loss upon this province, first and last, and in several places, was twelve ships, which all we know of, and some two or

three more supposed to be sunk to seaboard of the out isles ; the men of which ships did all perish in the sea, save the number of 1,100 or upward, which we put to the sword ; amongst whom there was divers gentlemen of quality and service, as captains, masters of ships, lieutenants, ensign-bearers, other inferior officers and young gentlemen, to the number of some fifty, whose names I have for the most part set down in a list, and have sent the same unto your Majesty ; which being spared from the sword till order might be had from the Lord Deputy how to proceed against them, I had special direction sent me to see them executed, as the rest were, only reserving alive one, Don Luis de Cordova,<sup>1</sup> and a young gentleman, his nephew, till your Highness's pleasure be known. Other gentlemen of special reckoning we had none, for the Count Paredes and Don Alonso de Leyva, with other gentlemen, being thrown ashore in Erris, the remotest place in all this province, and their ship all to broken, did afterwards by chance embark themselves in another of their ships and departed to sea ; but being again driven back upon the northern coast in Ulster, and from thence putting to sea again, are sithence, as I hear say, cast away about the isles going for Scotland. My brother George had one Don Graveillo de Swasso<sup>2</sup> and another gentleman, by licence, and some five or six Dutch boys and young men, who coming after the fury and heat of justice was past, by entreaty I spared them, in respect they were pressed into the fleet against their wills, and did dispose them into several Englishmen's hands, upon good assurance that they should be forthcoming at all times. And this,<sup>3</sup> God be praised, was all the province quickly rid of those distressed enemies, and

<sup>1</sup> Brother of the Marquis of Ayamonte (Duro, ii. 364).

<sup>2</sup> So in MS.

<sup>3</sup> In this way, thus.



the service done and ended without any other forces than the garrison bands, or yet any extraordinary charge to your Majesty. But the Lord Deputy, having further advertisements from the north of the state of things in those parts, took occasion to make a journey thither, and made his way through this province, and in his passing along caused both these two Spaniards, which my brother had, to be executed, and the Dutchmen and boys which were spared before, reserving none but Don Luis and his nephew, whom I have here. I was glad in one respect that his Lordship should take his way through Connaught, for that thereby he might the better satisfy himself of what we had before performed here, and accordingly had written of. Other wrecks they had both in Munster and Ulster, which being out of my charge I have not so good notice of. And this much I have boldly presumed to deliver unto your Majesty, though somewhat late, for which I most humbly crave your Highness's pardon, beseeching the Almighty God for your long and prosperous reign over us, and withal that we, your Highness's people, may daily grow in more thankfulness towards our mighty God and Protector, who ever preserve your Majesty to our continual comforts. From your Majesty's castle of Athlone, the third day of December, 1588.

Your Highness's most loyal  
and humble soldier,  
Rv. BINGHAM.

[Ireland, cxxxix. 2, I.]

Don John de Quintanilla.<sup>1</sup>  
Don Pedro Giosque.<sup>2</sup>  
Don Alonso de Argotta.

<sup>1</sup> The surname, with different Christian name, appears in Duro.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Duro.

Don Antonio de Ulloa.<sup>1</sup>  
 Don Diego de Cordova.<sup>1</sup>  
 Don Diego Sarmiento.<sup>2</sup>  
 Don Fernando la Serna.<sup>1</sup>  
 Michell Dicas, ancient bearer.  
 Pedro de Arechaga, captain of the ship.<sup>3</sup>  
 Bartolomé Bravo, captain.<sup>2</sup>  
 Serjeant Calderon.<sup>2</sup>  
 Francisco Maria Centeno.<sup>2</sup>  
 Don Diego Martell.  
 Don Alonso Ladron de Guevara.<sup>4</sup>  
 Don Jaques de Mires.  
 Giovanni Avauncye, master of the Rata.  
 Gaspar de los Reyes, master.<sup>5</sup>  
 Bartolomé de Arboleda.  
 Antonio Moreno.<sup>2</sup>  
 Felipe Cornetes.  
 Francesco Cortes, ancient bearer.<sup>2</sup>  
 Diego de Allyon.<sup>2</sup>  
 Francisco de Espinosa, ancient bearer.<sup>2</sup>  
 Juan Medrano.<sup>1</sup>  
 Pedro de Acuña.<sup>2</sup>  
 Diego del Roncon.  
 Francisco de Leon.<sup>2</sup>  
 Don Diego de Santillana.<sup>1</sup>  
 Antonio Bazan, ancient bearer.<sup>1</sup>  
 Juan Gil.<sup>6</sup>  
 Alonso de la Serna.<sup>2</sup>  
 Bernardo Pineto.  
 Sebastian de Carvajal, ancient bearer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The surname, with different Christian name, appears in Duro.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Duro.

<sup>3</sup> Captain of the Falcon Blanco Mediano (*ib.* ii. 140).

<sup>4</sup> A captain of soldiers. He is differently mentioned as in the Gran Grin (*ib.* ii. 37) and in the Rata (*ib.* ii. 67).

<sup>5</sup> Master of the Gran Grin (*ib.* i. 391).

<sup>6</sup> Alferez, or ensign bearer, at first serving on board the San Martin, on the staff of the Duke. As he could speak English,

December.—HOWARD TO BURGHLEY.

[ccxix. 23.—Signed. Addressed.]

My very good Lord:—Whereas I do perceive, by a note subscribed by the auditor, which I do herewithal send your Lordship, that there hath grown a surcharge unto her Majesty of 623*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* in this late service, by reason of certain extraordinary kinds of victuals, as wine, cider, sugar, oil, and certain fish, provided and distributed amongst the ships at Plymouth by my order, and Sir Francis Drake's, which was done as well to relieve such men withal as by reason of sickness or being hurt in fight, should not be able to digest the salt meats at sea, as also for the better lengthening of our ordinary victual when we should have gone for the coast of Spain, and which afterwards did stand us in great stead, both when we came to spend of that biscuit and beer which was sent us from London, whereof a great part was much wasted and spoiled in the carriage, and besides in making us able to help many of the coast ships with victual, which we did oftentimes when they were in want, but especially at our being northwards in the pursuit of our enemies: I am therefore to pray your Lordship (albeit I must acknowledge this charge to be such as the like, I think, in former times hath not been), yet in regard of the greatness of this service above others, and that these provisions were used for the relief and encouragement of such upon whose forwardness and valours the good success of

he was sent away in a pinnace (*zabra*), and picked up the Fal-mouth boatmen on the night of July 20 (see vol. i. p. xxxvii); afterwards he was sent on to the Duke of Parma (Duro, ii. 229, 233, 273, 275), and presumably rejoined the fleet at Calais.

the service did much rest, that your Lordship will use all the favourable consideration you may in the allowance of them, which I hope her Majesty will not mislike of. There was also a further supply of beer and wine distributed amongst the fleet by my order, which I have now caused to be stricken out of the book, and for which I will myself make satisfaction as well as I may, so that her Majesty shall not be charged withal. And so, leaving all to your Lordship's good consideration, I take my leave for this time. From Deptford, this . . .<sup>1</sup> of December, 1588. Your Lordship's very loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

[ccxix. 23, I.—Enclosure in the foregoing.]

A conference<sup>2</sup> between the charge of the extraordinary victuals delivered in gross by order and warrant, and her Majesty's ordinary allowance due by the day, as hereafter followeth :—

The ships serving under the Lord Admiral :

	£	s.	d.
There was due for the victualling of 3,770 men serving in the Triumph and 15 other her Majesty's ships, under the charge of the Lord Ad- miral, by the space of 14 days, begun the 14th of July and ended the 27th of the same, after the foresaid rate of 6 <i>d.</i> to each man by the day . . . . .			319 10 0
Against the which :—There was sent from London by Mr. Quarles and distributed amongst those ships, biscuit at 7 <i>s.</i> the cwt., 52,304 lbs.,			

<sup>1</sup> Blank in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Comparison



183*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, and beer at 33*s.* 4*d.*  
per ton, 217 t. 2 puncheons 1 hhd.,  
364*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* In all, as by certifi-  
cate under the hand of Richard  
Peter may appear . . . . .

£ s. d.

547 5 1

Not allowed in Mr. Darell's account, but  
only set down here to prove the loss.

And also there hath been distributed  
amongst them at Plymouth, by Mr.  
Darell, certain extraordinary vic-  
tuals in gross, by order and war-  
rant, viz., at one time 243*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*,  
and at another time 942*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*  
In all, as by the particulars thereof  
may appear . . . . .

1,185 18 10

And for their ordinary allowance of  
necessaries and lading charges  
during that time, by reason of the  
victualling in gross and not by the  
day . . . . .

31 18 8

Sum 1,765 2 7

And so there hath grown a loss unto  
her Majesty within the said time  
of 14 days, by these extraordinary  
victuals, to the sum of . . . . .

445 12 7

The ships serving under Sir Francis Drake :

There was due, according to her  
Majesty's allowance, for the vic-  
tualling of 2,820 men serving in the  
Revenge and 30 other ships, under  
the charge of Sir Francis Drake,  
by the space of 7 days, begun the  
4th of August, 1588, and ended

	£	s.	d.
the 10th of the same, after 6 <i>d.</i> to a man by the day . . . . .	493	10	0
Against the which :—There hath been delivered to those ships certain extraordinary victuals in gross, by order and warrant, amounting unto, as by the particulars thereof may appear . . . . .	671	8	4
And so there hath grown a loss unto her Majesty within the said time of 7 days, by these extraordinary victuals, to the sum of . . . . .	177	18	4
Sum total of the losses aforesaid	623	10	11

I have examined the premises by the particular book subscribed by the officers of the Admiralty.

8th of December, 1588.

Exd. per JOHN CONYERS, Auditor.

*December 14.—PETITION OF SIR J. HAWKYNS.*

[ccxix. 28.—Engrossed. Endorsed.]

Your humble suppliant, as well by reason of sundry great payments growing by his office of treasurership of her Majesty's marine causes, and by the bargain made with her Highness for the defraying of the ordinary charges of the same, as through the last extraordinary accidents and charges about the late sea services, is thereby as well greatly indebted to divers her Majesty's subjects, as by reason of his late service against the Spaniards many great and unlooked for charges is thereby grown, and his accounts great and far out of order, and not speedily to be reduced and brought into form and perfection without great travail, pains and time to be

spent in performing and finishing of the same ; besides the private estate of your suppliant by these great payments both dangerous and much encumbered, and his accounts, which he is, both in conscience and duty, to yield unto her Majesty, is thereby grown so great and intricate as, unless your Honours will be pleased to be a mean to her Majesty to spare him some convenient time for the better perfecting and reducing of the same to some good form and order, he shall neither be able to do her Majesty that service which in duty and fidelity he is bound and most desirous to perform, nor answer your Lordships' expectations for matters pertaining to his place. In tender consideration whereof it may the rather please your Honours to deal with her Majesty that Mr. Edward Fenton, one of her Majesty's servants, both honest and of great fidelity, and for whom your said orator and his sureties already given into the Exchequer will undertake and still stand bound for, as also myself enter into any further bond your Honours shall reasonably devise for the better surety of her Majesty therein, may receive and disburse, from the first of January next until the last of December, 1589, in his own name and by his own acquittance, all such sums of money as is to be disbursed and laid out for and during that time in and about the ordinary and extraordinary charges of her Majesty's marine causes ; which to that effect (standing with your Honours' good likings and favours, and not prejudicial or anyways hurtful to her Majesty) her gracious letters patents of the said office, granted to your said orator as treasurer of her Highness's marine causes, doth permit, suffer and allow. And yet, nevertheless, your said orator, to the uttermost of his power, and according to the duty and fidelity he oweth

to her Majesty (reserving fit and convenient time for the reducing of his said account into good form and order, whereby her Majesty may be justly answered all such sums of money as may happen to grow thereby due to her or any of her subjects), will also endeavour himself to do all those good offices which may best maintain and be most profitable for the good continuance, well ordering and preservation of her Majesty's most royal navy, or anything concerning or belonging to the same. And your said orator shall be bound daily to pray for your Honours' long and good estates.

*December [14].—WARRANT OF THE QUEEN.*

[ccxix. 29.]

Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are made to understand, by a petition exhibited unto you (our Treasurer and Admiral), that our servant Sir John Hawkyns, knight, is desirous for one whole year, to begin the first of January next and to end the last of December, 1589, to substitute and appoint in his place, as his lawful deputy, our servant Edward Fenton, for the receiving of all such sum and sums of money as shall be anyways allotted during that year for the payment as well of our ordinary as extraordinary charges which shall happen to grow in and about our marine causes during that time, to the end that the said Sir John Hawkyns may thereby have better liberty to reduce and put in order such his accounts, as he is to be accountable and answerable to us for such sums of money as he hath formerly received, by virtue of his office of treasurership for our marine causes sithence his entry into the same, whereby it may the rather



appear in what manner of estate and condition he standeth, as well with us for those accounts, as what may further grow due thereby to any of our subjects by that occasion : We have thought good, for the reasons specified in his petition, as well to grant him liberty for the time he requireth to compound and finish those his accounts, as also, at his humble and earnest suit, to admit and allow of our servant Edward Fenton to execute his place for that time, so as (in all sorts) his self and former surety and bonds may be answerable to us for such sum and sums of money as the said Edward Fenton shall, during that year, receive of our treasure for any our marine causes whatsoever. Commanding, nevertheless, that our said servant Sir John Hawkyens shall, from time to time, be aiding and assisting with his travail and counsel to further such our services as shall happily grow fit and necessary to be managed and handled in that time. Given &c.

*December 20.—WYNTER TO WALSYNGHAM.*

[ccxix. 36.—Signed. Addressed.]

The service and duty I owe to her Majesty and love to my country forceth me to make choice of your Honour, by reason of some weakness in me that I cannot attend upon her Majesty as otherwise I would, to utter and discover a cause that, in my poor opinion, is to be regarded, which is a danger that this her Majesty's realm may be in by the malice of God's enemies and her Highness's, and what the means were, with God's grace, to prevent it. And albeit I presume to deal in a matter of so great weight, yet I hope, if I commit any fault herein, your Honour will shadow the same with your cloak,

the rather because I was encouraged to it by your Honour, and for the secret choice I have made in the uttering of it ; most humbly beseeching your Honour when you have read this, and that you do not like of it, that then you will be so much my honourable friend as to suppress it. Your Honour is the only person that ever I uttered this cause unto in particular.

Of what importance London is to the crown of England your Honour doth know ; and how much the same in all likelihood was desired by the enemies before declared, besides others that lay hidden, the coming and adventuring of the King of Spain's army into the Narrow Seas, and the preparations of the Prince of Parma made in the Low Countries, doth bewray it ; for before the armies coming as far forwards as the Narrow Seas, I wrote a letter by your Honour's commandment, for answer to one of yours which it pleased your Honour to vouchsafe to write me, touching what I thought the Prince of Parma's meaning was for the employing of his flat-bottomed boats &c., that among other my answers, I doubted the Isle of Sheppey and the river of London.<sup>1</sup> But had I seen and known that which since I have done, I would have said flatly that their meaning was for the river of Thames and London ; which plot being then in their heads, no doubt but that it remaineth there still, and will hardly be removed until they see their hope made void, which is not likely without the providence of God, except that London be fortified as it may be able to make resistance for a time against an army, and that also certain points of the shore lying in the river of Thames may have sconces made on them, for both must go together. Which being done, I do verily think that neither the King of Spain, yea, although Holland and Zealand should revolt to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. 213.

him, which I hope in God never to see, and that also the French king would join with them, but that our gracious Lady and mistress shall preserve herself and her kingdom in despite of them.

The working and doing of it being carefully looked unto at the beginning, will amount to little in respect of the wonderful benefit that will grow by it, and the works brought to an end in short time. It may be thought that her Majesty's navy had, and hath had, through the favour of God, so victorious a hand over the enemy that in likelihood it will be so hereafter, if any such attempt be made. I would I might not live to advise her Majesty to diminish the strength of her Highness's navy, for what a jewel the same hath been to the kings and queens of England in my lifetime, my eyes are witnesses thereof; as in the most noble King Henry the 8th time, both at Wight against the French king, and also in Scotland, as well in the east as in the west side of the same realm; also in his son's time, King Edward, the army into Scotland, and the journeys to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; likewise in his daughter Queen Mary's time, the army to Conquet, and the recovering again of Alderney; and now, lastly, in the Queen's Majesty's our most gracious mistress's time, her army to Leith in Scotland, the like to Newhaven, the several journeys into Ireland, the journeys into Spain and the Indies, and lastly this last God's gift against the Spaniards, besides a number that I leave unrehearsed. So that, weighing these triumphant things, the world might condemn me for a rash and careless person if I did not that which lay in me to advance the maintenance of them. But when I consider that ships are subject to wind, weather, and other haps, it were not good, as I think, for<sup>1</sup> to build our defence only upon them; for I speak of

<sup>1</sup> MS. or.



knowledge, as no person shall be able to prove against it, if the King of Spain had men sufficient at Sluys, Nieuport, and Dunkirk, with reasonable shipping to transport them and their provision, the wind being at the North-East, and so to the eastward, and the Queen's Majesty having an army as great as that which her Majesty had any time this year, riding, as commonly they do with the like winds, between Blackness and Boulogne, the King of Spain's army might be in the Thames and danger<sup>1</sup> the principal matter, before knowledge could be given to our ships lying so upon the coast of France as aforesaid. I leave to speak of any army that might come out of Spain to annoy us, and to be thought of by such as are wise, what in probability so mighty a king as the King of Spain may do with his wealth, and what the puissance and force of a gross army of trained soldiers can do against a number of raw men, unexperienced, after they had once settled themselves in places of strength in the Thames (as by God's grace I shall never see it), your Honour can judge as a person of experience.

It would greatly help that Sandwich might be fortified, being apt for that purpose ; also Harwich in Essex, and likewise Yarmouth in Suffolk ;<sup>2</sup> and how the same may be best compassed your wisdom, with others of honour, can best consider ; and thus you should put a defence to the face of your enemies, to the comfort greatly of her Majesty's good subjects everywhere.

It may be alleged that if London be fortified, danger might grow by stubbornness of the citizens or practice of some great personages that might oppose themselves against their prince. Surely if any such should be intended, in my simple opinion the same might easily be prevented.

<sup>1</sup> Endanger.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS.



Thus I thought meet to speak of as one that is desirous the work might proceed without gainsaying. And fearing I have been too tedious, for the which I crave your honourable pardon, I rest, beseeching God to increase you with honour and health. Written the 20th of December, 1588.

If I might know that her Highness and your Honour do favour or like of this, I will draw a plate of the river of Thames, and set down upon [it <sup>1</sup>] the places needful where I imagine the sconces might be best placed (such one I left with my Lord Treasurer at my going lastly to the seas), for your Honour.

Your Honour's in all dutifulness to command,  
W. WYNTER.

*Dec. 27.—THOMAS FLEMYNG TO BURGHLEY.*

[ccxix. 40.—Neither written nor signed by Flemyng. Addressed.]

Right Honourable :—Whereas, by warrant and commandment from the Lord High Admiral of England, I was charged to serve her Majesty at the seas for the space of five months against the Spaniard, in part <sup>2</sup> whereof I received by the appointment of the Lord Admiral only for three months and half; and for the other six weeks, having charge of 36 men in a small bark of mine own, to be furnished with all necessities, as of victuals as wages, I have hitherunto received no allowance, the which, with his loss of cables, anchors, and masts, amounteth to the sum of 70*l.* at the least. My very good Lord, forasmuch as my charge in the said service hath been very great and chargeable unto me, and my attendance since my return from the seas, by these 15 weeks past, very

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. part payment.

tedious, I beseech your Honour therefore to have regard to my present state, and to take some good order for my present satisfaction in respect of this said charge, to my further encouragement in service, and daily prayer for the continuance of your Honour in all happy state. And so I most humbly take my leave, this 27th of December, 1588.

Your Honour's most bounden,

THOMAS FLEMING.

### SCALE OF PAY.

[ccxxxvii. 62.—A late report or copy, *circ.* 1628.]

#### Expeditions at Sea. *Anno* 1588.

A brief report made of the charge of the wages, diets, and entertainments of the Lord High Admiral of England; 7 other admirals upon special occasion of service at sundry times; 3 vice-admirals; one rear-admiral; and divers captains, masters, mariners, gunners, and soldiers, appointed to serve her Majesty in the seas against the Spanish forces for one whole year, ended at Christmas, *Anno* 1588, according to the several differences of numbers of men, continuance of time, and rates of allowances and other charges, as hereafter followeth:—

The regiment under the charge and conduct of the Lord High Admiral of England.—Men 3,868.

To himself, per diem, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the Lord Henry, Lord Seymour, vice-admiral, 2*l.* per diem; Sir John Hawkyins, rear-admiral, 15*s.* per diem; and for the wages of 19 captains at 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem apiece, with 22 masters and 3,824 mariners, gunners, and soldiers, and sometimes fewer, serving under them, as the exigent of time and need of service

required, viz.:—Wages of mariners, gunners, and soldiers, at their accustomed wages, at several times as aforesaid, between the 22nd of December, 1587, and the 15th of September following, 1588; with 1,431*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for conduct in discharge of the said companies, the sum of . . . 22,597*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

Regiment of the Lord Henry Seymour,  
admiral, viz.—Men 1,658.

For himself, being captain and admiral, per diem 40*s.*, from the 14th of May until the 15th of August; Sir Hen. Palmer, at 20*s.* per diem, from the first of January to the 13th of May; Sir Willm. Wynter and Sir Martin Frobiser, at 20*s.* apiece per diem; Thos. Gray, vice-admiral, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per diem; for the wages of 12 captains, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem, and 16 masters, and 1,625 other officers, mariners, gunners and soldiers, and sometimes a less number, as the services required, serving under the aforesaid Sir Hen. Palmer and the rest, at several times, from the first of January to the last of December following, 1588; with 222*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* for conduct in discharge of the said men . . . 11,031*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

Regiment of Sir Fra. Drake, Knt.  
Men 2,737.

For himself, being captain and admiral, at 30*s.* per diem; Tho. Fenner, vice-admiral, at 15*s.* per diem; 28 captains, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem; 30 masters, and 2,677 other mariners, gunners and soldiers, and sometimes fewer, as services required, serving under them at several times, between the first of January, 1587, unto the 10th of September, 1588; in all, with 552*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* for conduct in discharge; 3,758*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* for tonnage, and 343*l.* for sea store of sundry merchants of London . . . 19,228*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*

Sea wages of merchant coasters serving her Majesty.—Men 2,789.

Nicholas Gorges, Esq., admiral, for him and his lieutenant, at 13*s.* 8*d.* per diem; 50 captains, 51 masters, and 2,686 mariners, gunners and soldiers, serving under him, after the rate of 14*s.* every man per mensem, shares and rewards in the same accounted; in all, with 2,264*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for tonnage, 65*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* for prest and conduct, and 39*s.* for rewards; serving by the space of seven weeks, from the 25th of July to the 11th of September following, 1588, and 853*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* for the sea victuals, sum of 7,330*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*

Wages of voluntary ships.—Men 840.

Captains, 17; masters, 17; and 806 other mariners, gunners and soldiers serving under them, between the 17th of July, 1588, and the 9th of September following, after the rate of 14*s.* every man, diets, shares and rewards in the same accounted, with 563*l.* 10*s.* for sea victuals, 202*l.* for tonnage, and 40*l.* for a reward, sum is 1,622*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Other sea wages and victuals, viz. :

Francis Burnell, captain and admiral of the *Mary Rose* of London, for her wages and tonnage, and of 24 other ships appointed to transport victuals to the navy southwards . . . . 1,006*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*

Thomas Cordell of London, for victual delivered for 530 men serving under the charge of the Lord H. Seymour, for one month, begun the 26th of July, and end the 22nd of August following, 1588, 400*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*



Sea wages of 13 preachers, 26 lieutenants, 24 corporals, 2 secretaries, and two ensign bearers, men 62, 852*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

Provisions, emptions and extraordinary disbursements for the same service, within the time aforesaid.

Regiment under the charge and conduct of the Lord High Admiral of England.

Emptions and provisions, viz., boats, oars, masts, anchors, iron and ironwork, timber, boards, lead, rosin, flags, ensigns, streamers, and such like, 5,388*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*; water carriage, 920*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*; wages and entertainments, 48*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; task work, 269*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*; rewards,<sup>1</sup> 220*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*; travelling charges, 440*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; allowance for a diet for the Lord Thomas Howard and Lord Sheffield, 433*l.*; in all, as by the particulars appear . . . 8,742*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*

Regiment of Sir Fra. Drake, Knt.

Emptions and provisions, viz., of canvas, masts, timber, boards, planks, and such like, 1,322*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*; water carriage, 83*l.* 3*s.*; wages and entertainments, 201*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; task works, 330*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*, and rewards, 160*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; in all, as by the particulars appear, 2,445*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*

Regiment under Sir Martin Frobiser.

Emptions and provisions, viz., of anchors, iron works, flags, ensigns, leadline &c., and such like, 223*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; carriage, 8*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; task works, 72*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; travelling charges, 54*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*; in all, as by the particulars . . . 436*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. has 'record,' which is nonsense; a blunder of the copying clerk.

## A new supply.

Emptions and provisions, viz., of pinnaces, boats, masts, oars, sails, canvas, anchors, cordage, iron work &c., and such like, 3,108*l.* 0*s.* 8½*d.*; carriages, 16*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*; wages and entertainments, 26*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*; task works, 176*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; travelling charges, 15*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; in all, as by the particulars thereof appear . . . . 3,379*l.* 8*s.* 0½*d.*

## MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS.

[Pipe Office Declared Accounts,<sup>1</sup> 2224.]

Prest, conduct, and coat money of mariners, gunners, and soldiers from divers places prested to serve in the aforesaid ships, viz. in calling to service after the rate of 1*d.* the man for every mile, according to the distance of the places from whence they were prested, 2,295*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*; together with the prest, conduct, and coat money of the several retinues, viz. of the Right Honourable the Lord Charles Howard, Lord Admiral 120*l.*; the Lord Henry Seymour, 60*l.*; the Lord Thomas Howard, 30*l.*; the Lord Edmund Sheffield, 30*l.*; Edward Fenton, Esq., 20*l.*; George Beeston, Esq., 15*l.*; Benjamin Gonson, Esq., 15*l.*; and Sir Robert Southwell, Sir William Wynter, knight, and William Borough, Esq., 90*l.*

In all . . . 2,275*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

Conduct homewards being discharged from service at ½*d.* the mile to every man 123*l.* 9*s.*; and for

<sup>1</sup> For 1587. These volumes contain the naval accounts for each year in full detail. A few only of the entries are here given, those being selected which have some interest besides the market price of stores.

the charge of the presters for prestring of the said mariners, gunners, and soldiers, 151*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*

In all the sum of 2,950*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*

Anthony Jenkinson<sup>1</sup> Esq., for his pains and charges sustained in attending the Council's pleasure by the space of 6 weeks for her Majesty's service intended on the Narrow Seas, with sundry her Highness' ships under his charge, the sum of 20*l.*

Diets to Thomas Lane and 135 other mariners by the space of one day, being the 12th of June, 1587, attending at Deptford Strand for the launching of the Ark Raleigh, by agreement of the said officers of her Highness' ships, the sum of 71*s.* 2*d.*

William Byford, upholster, for the trimming of the captain's cabin and others for gentlemen in her Highness' ship the Vanguard, being garnished with green cotton,<sup>2</sup> finding at his own charges all manner of stuff and workmanship . . . 15*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

William Byford upholster, for the trimming of the captain's cabin in the Ark Raleigh, finding at his own charges all manner of green cotton,<sup>2</sup> darnix,<sup>3</sup> lace, copper nails, tacks, curtain rings, green and yellow fringe, mockado<sup>4</sup> and other necessities, with the workmanship thereto belonging . . . 39*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Russian traveller and merchant. He did not actually have any naval employment at this time, though his name occurs in lists drawn up in 1587, of sea-captains available for the Queen's service.

<sup>2</sup> This early use of 'cotton,' probably some sort of chintz, is noticeable. Whether the colour green was a reference to the Tudor liveries, green and white, or mere fancy must be uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> A coarse sort of damask used for curtains &c. : made of different materials—silk, wool, or thread. Originally manufactured at Tournay ; Flemish, *Doornik*.

<sup>4</sup> Mock velvet, made of wool ; similar to what is now known as Utrecht velvet.

[Pipe Office Declared Accounts,<sup>1</sup> 2225.]

Provisions for sea causes extraordinary, for the furniture of divers ships appointed against the Spanish forces, under the charge of the Lord High Admiral of England.

Flags, ensigns, streamers, and pennants &c. bought for the use of her Highness' ships in the foresaid service against the Spanish forces, viz.—

Flags of St. George of divers prices, 32 ;	£	s.	d.
whereof one flag at 4 <i>l.</i> ; one other at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> ; 20 flags at 3 <i>l.</i> the flag, 60 <i>l.</i> ; one flag at 2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> ; 5 flags at 2 <i>l.</i> the flag, 10 <i>l.</i> ; and 4 flags at 20 <i>s.</i> the flag, 4 <i>l.</i>			

All for the flags aforesaid . . . .	84	0	0
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Ensigns of divers prices, 15 ; whereof one of silk for the Bonavolia, at 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; one other of silk for the Rainbow, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; 3 ensigns of fine bewper<sup>2</sup> at 4*l.* every such ensign, 12*l.* ; 2 other ensigns of fine bewper at 3*l.* 10*s.* the ensign, 7*l.* ; 4 other ensigns of fine bewper at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the ensign, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; two other of fine bewper at 3*l.* the ensign, 6*l.* ; one other of bewper at 2*l.* 12*s.*, and other of bewper at 2*l.* 10*s.*

In all for the ensigns aforesaid . . . .	57	2	0
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Streamers in all, 70 ; whereof 24 streamers at 22*s.* every streamer,

<sup>1</sup> For 1588.

<sup>2</sup> A woollen fabric, similar to, if not quite the same as, the modern bunting.



26 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> ; and 46 streamers for the Ark, <sup>1</sup> the Victory, the Mary Rose, and the Swallow at 20 <i>s.</i> the streamer, 46 <i>l.</i>	£	s.	d.
In all for the said streamers . . . . .	72	8	0
Pennants of sundry prices, to discern their company from the enemy, 110; whereof 10 pennants at 20 <i>s.</i> the pennant, 10 <i>l.</i> , and 100 other pennants at 25 <i>s.</i> the piece, 25 <i>l.</i>			
In all for the foresaid pennants . . . . .	35	0	0
More, for 102 yards of calico for flags at 9 <i>d.</i> the yard. . . . .	3	16	6
In all amounteth to the sum of . . . . .	252	6	6
Glass and glazing employed in and about her Majesty's ships, viz. new, 236½ foot, whereof 216½ foot at 6 <i>d.</i> the foot, 108 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> ; and 20 foot at 7 <i>d.</i> the foot, 11 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			
In all, for new glass . . . . .	5	19	11
Leading of 127½ foot of old glass, viz. 95½ foot at 3 <i>d.</i> the foot, 28 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i> , and 32 foot at 4 <i>d.</i> the foot, 10 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>			
In all, for new leading . . . . .	1	19	6½
Mending of 8 casements . . . . .	2	8	
New quarrells <sup>2</sup> set in 485½ quarrells <sup>2</sup> at 1 <i>d.</i> the piece . . . . .	2	0	5½
And making and mending of glass and lanterns by agreement, viz. new making of two lanterns, 39 <i>s.</i> Mending of a lantern, 8 <i>s.</i> , and for glazing of 10 new casements in the Van-			

<sup>1</sup> The Ark, as the ship of the Lord Admiral : the other three, as representing the Hawkyns family.

<sup>2</sup> A quarrell was a pane of glass (Low Lat. *quarellus* ; Norm. Fr. *quarel* ; Fr. *carreau*). It appears here to mean also the frame in which the glass was set.

guard, 18s. 2d., and for mending the	£	s.	d.
glass windows in the Lion, 4s. 10d.			
For mending of glass by agreement .	3	10	0
In all, for glass and glazing . .	13	12	7

Overplus of diet,<sup>1</sup> viz. To the Lord Thomas Howard for his diets serving her Majesty as captain in the Ark Raleigh and the Golden Lion against the Spanish forces from the 22nd of December 1587 unto the 25th of August next, being 248 days, after the rate of 20s. per diem, as by a warrant from the Lord Admiral to the treasurer of the ships for payment thereof did appear, amounting to the sum of 248*l.*, whereof 2s. 6*d.* per diem is borne upon the sea books for the foresaid ships, and the residue, being 17s. 6*d.* per diem, is by the said warrant here to be allowed, amounting to the sum of 217*l.*

And to the Lord Edmund Sheffield for his like diets, serving her Majesty as captain in the Victory, the Dreadnought, and the White Bear during the whole time aforesaid and after the same rates, and allowed by virtue of the aforesaid warrants, the sum of 217*l.*

Amounting in all to the sum of 434*l.*

[Pipe Office Declared Accounts,<sup>2</sup> 2226.]

William Byford for new laying, repairing, and trimming the captain's cabin in the Ark Raleigh, finding at his own charges all manner of baize, cotton, lace, tacks, thread, &c. . . . 6*l.* 18s. 4*d.*

<sup>1</sup> The accounts of the ships for pay are all given. In all, the captain's diet is given at 2s. 6*d.* per diem. It is not to be supposed that the captain of the Charles, the Moon, or the Golden Hind got the same emoluments as the captain of the Mary Rose or the Hope ; but the difference does not appear in these accounts. No 'overplus of diet' is shown for any but these two.

<sup>2</sup> For 1589.

The said William for the garnishing and lining of the captains' cabins in the Vanguard and the Elizabeth Bonaventure, finding at his own charges all manner of stuff and workmanship . 5*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*

Lewis Lyzarde and Richard Jackson, painters, for the painting of the Mary Rose, dry-docked at Deptford Strand, the colours being laid with oil and her Majesty's arms, gilded and laid with fine gold, they finding all manner of charges and workmanship . . . . . 65*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

### LIST OF THE FLEET.

[ccxv. 76.—Signed. Compared with ccvi. 59, ccix. 46, ccxiii. 2 II., ccxv. 82, ccxxxvii. 15 (a later copy), B.M. Harl. MS. 168, f. 176, and very many other documents.]

[No dependence can be placed on the tonnage of even the Queen's ships; it is given differently in almost every different list, and the differences are sometimes very great. The Triumph, for instance, varies between 900 and 1,100; the Victory between 600 and 800; the Tiger between 160 and 200 tons. As for the merchant ships, the tonnage, with a few exceptions, is not given in the State Papers, and is here taken from the Harleian MS. referred to, and is probably not more incorrect than that officially given for the Queen's ships. The number of men is official, and, as it was checked by the pay lists and victualling accounts, cannot be very far wrong, though the frequent errors in the arithmetic do not give a favourable impression of the accuracy of the clerk who wrote the list, or of Langford, who attested it. In the partial lists the arithmetic is here corrected, but the abstract at the end is printed as it stands in the MS. The names of the ships are given in modern spelling. Wherever possible, the names of men (here distinguished by a \*) are from their signatures; failing which, from the signatures of known relations—by no means a certain comparison (see vol. i. p. lxxxii)—from the form now in use, or after a careful collation of the different MSS.]

Her Majesty's whole army at the seas against the  
Spanish forces, in *Anno* 1588:—

No	Ships' Names	Tons	Men			Total	Captains and Officers
			Mari- ners	Gun- ners	Sol- diers		
1	Ark . .	800	270	34	126	425	The Lord Admiral <i>Sec.</i> Sir *Ed. Hoby <i>Mr.</i> Thomas Gray <i>Lt.</i> Amyas Preston <i>Capt. of Soldrs.</i> Morgan <i>Mr. Gunr.</i> Saml. Clerke <i>Btsn.</i> John Wright <i>Volrs.</i> Ri. Leveson Thos. Gerard [Willm.] Harvey [John] Chidley [Thos.] Vavasour <i>Adml's. men :</i> Fra. Burnell Newton
2	Elizabeth Bonaventure	600	150	24	76	250	Earl of Cumberland George Raymond <i>Mr.</i> James Sewell <i>Btsn.</i> *Tristram Searcher <i>Vol.</i> [Robert Carey]
3	Rainbow .	500	150	24	76	250	Lord *Henry Seymour <i>Btsn.</i> *Ri. Laine <i>Volrs.</i> Sir Chas. Blount Fra. Carey Brute Brown
4	Golden Lion .	500	150	24	76	250	Lord *Thos. Howard
5	White Bear .	1000	300	40	150	500	Lord Sheffield <i>Mr.</i> *Richard Poulter (?) <i>Lt.</i> H. Sheffield <i>Btsn.</i> Robt. Baxter Sir *Willm. Wynter <i>Lt.</i> John Wynter
6	Vanguard .	500	150	24	76	250	Sir *Fra. Drake <i>Mr.</i> John Gray <i>Lt.</i> Jonas Bodenham <i>Pnsr.</i> Martin Jeffrey (?) <i>Btsn.</i> Ri. Derrick <i>Volr.</i> *Nich. Oseley
8	Elizabeth Jonas	900	300	40	150	500	Sir Robt. Southwell <i>Mr.</i> * John Austyne (?) <i>Btsn.</i> John Woodroffe
9	Victory .	800	270	34	126	400	Sir John Hawkyns <i>Mr.</i> [ Barker] (?) <i>Btsn.</i> John Edmonds
10	Antelope .	400	120	20	30	160	Sir *Henry Palmer



No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men			Total	Captains and Officers
			Mari- ners	Gun- ners	Sol- diers		
11	Triumph .	1100	300	40	160	500	Sir *Martin Frobiser <i>Lt.</i> Eliot (?) <i>Btsn.</i> *Simon Fernandez
12	Dreadnought .	400	130	20	40	200	Sir George Beeston <i>Btsn.</i> Harvey
13	Mary Rose .	600	150	24	76	250	Edward Fenton <i>Btsn.</i> Lawrence Cleer <i>Volr.</i> *Henry Whyte
14	Nonpareil .	500	150	24	76	250	*Thomas Fenner <i>Btsn.</i> I. C.
15	Hope . .	600	160	25	85	250	*Robert Crosse <i>Mr.</i> John Sampson (?) <i>Btsn.</i> *John Vayle
16	Galley Bona- volia	—	—	—	—	250	*William Borough
17	Swiftsure .	400	120	20	40	180	Edward Fenner <i>Btsn.</i> Willm. Mychell
18	Swallow .	360	110	20	30	160	*Richard Hawkyns <i>Btsn.</i> John Borman
19	Foresight .	300	110	20	20	160	Chr. Baker <i>Btsn.</i> *James Andrews
20	Aid . .	250	90	16	14	120	W. Fenner <i>Prsr.</i> Richard Blucke (?) <i>Btsn.</i> John Russell
21	Bull . .	200	80	12	8	100	Jeremy Turner <i>Btsn.</i> *Myhyll Pyrkyne
22	Tiger . .	200	80	12	8	100	John Bostocke
23	Tramontana .	150	55	8	7	70	Luke Ward <i>Btsn.</i> *John Pratte
24	Scout . .	120	55	8	7	70	Henry Ashley
25	Achates .	100	45	8	7	60	Gregory Riggs
26	Charles .	70	36	4	—	45	John Roberts <i>Volr.</i> [Willm. Monson]
27	Moon . .	60	34	4	—	40	Alexr. Clifford
28	Advice . .	50	31	4	—	40	John Harris <i>Btsn.</i> Tristram George
29	Merlin . .	50	20	4	—	35	Walter Gower
30	Spy . .	50	31	4	—	40	Ambrose Ward
31	Sun . .	40	26	4	—	30	<i>Mr.</i> Richard Buckley
32	Cygnat . .	30	—	—	—	20	<i>Mr.</i> John Sheriff <i>Btsn.</i> *Geo. Wilkynson
33	Brigandine .	90	—	—	—	35	Thomas Scott
34	George hoy .	100	16	4	—	24	<i>Mr.</i> Ri. Hodges

Merchant ships appointed to serve westwards under  
the charge of Sir Francis Drake :—

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
35	Galleon Leicester .	400	160	George Fenner
36	Merchant Royal .	400	160	Robert Flicke
37	Edward Bonaventure	300	120	James Lancaster
38	Roebuck . . .	300	120	Jacob Whiddon
39	Golden Noble . .	250	110	Adam Seager
40	Griffin . . .	200	100	William Hawkyns <i>Mr. Samuel Norfolk</i>
41	Minion . . .	200	80	William Wynter <i>Mr. Nicholas Maunder</i>
42	Bark Talbot . .	200	90	*Henry Whyte <i>Mr. John Hampton</i>
43	Thomas Drake .	200	80	Henry Spindelov <i>Mr. John Tranton</i>
44	Spark . . .	200	90	William Spark <i>Mr. Richard Loarie</i>
45	Hopewell . . .	200	100	John Marchant
46	Galleon Dudley .	250	96	James Erisey
47	Virgin God save her	200	70	John Greynvile
48	Hope Hawkyns .	200	80	John Rivers <i>Mr. Roger Haley</i>
49	Bark Bond . . .	150	70	William Poole <i>Mr. John Rock</i>
50	Bark Bonner . .	150	70	Charles Cæsar <i>Mr. William Loggin</i>
51	Bark Hawkyns .	150	70	Prideaux <i>Mr. William Snell</i>
52	Unity . . .	80	40	Humphrey Sydenham <i>Mr. William Cornish</i>
53	Elizabeth Drake .	60	30	*Thomas Cely <i>Mr. Thomas Clerke</i>
54	Bark Buggins . .	80	50	John Langford
55	Elizabeth Founes .	80	50	Roger Grant
56	Bark St. Leger .	160	80	John St. Leger
57	Bark Manington .	160	80	Ambrose Manington
58	Hearts-ease . . .	—	24	Hannibal Sharpham
59	Golden Hind . . .	50	30	*Thomas Flemyng
60	Makeshift . . .	60	40	Piers Lemon
61	Diamond of Dartmouth	60	40	Robert Holland
62	Speedwell . . .	60	14	<i>Mr. Hugh Hardinge</i>
63	Bear Yonge . . .	140	70	John Yonge
64	Chance . . .	60	40	James Founes <i>Mr. Hugh Cornish</i>
65	Delight . . .	50	40	William Cox
66	Nightingale . . .	40	30	John Grisling <i>Mr. Habakkuk Percy</i>
67	Small caravel . .	30	20	—
68	Flyboat Yonge . .	50	50	Nicholas Webb

34 ships ; 2,294 men.

Ships set forth and paid upon the charge of the City of London.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
69	Hercules . . .	300	120	George Barne
70	Toby . . .	250	100	Robert Barrett
71	Mayflower . . .	200	90	Edward Bancks
72	Minion . . .	200	90	John Dale
73	Royal Defence . . .	160	80	John Chester
74	Ascension . . .	200	100	John Bacon
75	Gift of God . . .	180	80	Thomas Luntlowe
76	Primrose . . .	200	90	Robert Bringborne
77	Margaret and John . . .	200	90	John Fisher Mr. John Nash Lt. *Ri. Tomson Volr. John Watts
78	Golden Lion . . .	140	70	Robert Wilcox
79	Diana . . .	80	40	Edward Cock
80	Bark Burr . . .	160	70	John Serocold
81	Tiger . . .	200	90	William Cæsar
82	Brave . . .	160	70	William Furthow
83	Red Lion . . .	200	90	Jervis Wilde
84	Centurion . . .	250	100	Samuel Foxcraft
85	Passport . . .	80	40	Chr. Colthurst
86	Moonshine . . .	60	30	John Brough
87	Thomas Bonaventure . . .	140	70	William Aldridge
88	Release . . .	60	30	John King
89	George Noble . . .	120	80	*Henry Bellingham Mr. Richard Harper
90	Anthony . . .	100	60	George Harper Mr. Richard Dove
91	Toby . . .	120	70	Christ. Pigot Mr. Robert Cuttle
92	Salamander . . .	110	60	Damford Mr. William Goodlad
93	Rose Lion . . .	100	50	Bar. Acton Mr. Robert Duke
94	Antelope . . .	120	60	Denison Mr. Abraham Bonner
95	Jewel . . .	110	60	Rowell Mr. Henry Rawlyn
96	Pansy . . .	100	70	Mr. William Butler
97	Prudence . . .	120	60	Mr. Richard Chester
98	Dolphin . . .	110	70	Mr. William Hare

30 ships and barks ; 2,180 men.

Merchant ships serving under the charge of the  
Lord Admiral, and paid by her Majesty :—

These 8 served about 7 weeks in her Majesty's pay :

No.	Ship's Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
99	Susan Parnell . . .	220	80	Nicholas Gorges
100	Violet . . . . .	220	60	Martin Hawkes
101	Solomon . . . . .	170	80	Edmund Musgrave
102	Anne Frances . . .	180	70	Charles Lister
103	George Bonaventure	200	80	Eleazar Hickman
104	Jane Bonaventure . .	100	50	Thos. Hallwood
105	Vineyard . . . . .	160	60	Benj. Cooke
106	Samuel . . . . .	140	50	John Vassall

These ships and barks following served the whole  
time only for her Majesty's pay :

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
107	White Lion . . . .	140	50	Charles Howard
108	Disdain . . . . .	80	45	Jonas Bradbury
109	Lark . . . . .	50	20	[Thos.] Chichester
110	Edward of Maldon . .	186	30	Willm. Pierce
111	Marigold . . . . .	30	12	Mr. Willm. Newton
112	Black Dog . . . . .	20	10	Mr. John Davis
113	Katharine . . . . .	20	10	—
114	Fancy . . . . .	50	20	Mr. John Paul
115	Pippin . . . . .	20	8	—
116	Nightingale . . . .	160	16	Mr. John Doate



The 15 ships that transported victuals westward :

No.	Ships' Names	Men	Captains and Officers
117	Mary Rose . . .	70	Francis Burnell <i>Mr.</i> William Parker
118	Elizabeth Bonaventure .	60	Richard Start
119	Pelican . . . .	50	John Clarke
120	Hope . . . .	40	John Skinner
121	Unity . . . .	40	John Moore
122	Pearl . . . .	50	Lawrence Moore
123	Elizabeth of Leigh .	60	William Bower
124	John of London . .	70	Richard Rose
125	Bearsabe . . . .	60	Edward Bryan
126	Marigold . . . .	50	Robert Bowers
127	White Hind . . . .	40	Richard Browne
128	Gift of God . . . .	40	Robert Harrison
129	Jonas . . . .	50	Edward Bell
130	Solomon . . . .	60	George Street
131	Richard Duffield . .	70	William Adams

33 ships and barks ; 1,561 men.

Coasters under the charge of the Lord Admiral,  
and paid by her Majesty :—

No.	Ships Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
132	Bark Webb . .	80	50	—
133	John Trelawney .	150	30	Thomas Meek
134	Hart of Dartmouth .	60	70	James Houghton
135	Bark Potts . .	180	80	Anthony Potts
136	Little John . .	40	20	Lawrence Clayton
137	Bartholomew of Apsam	130	70	Nicholas Wright
138	Rose of Apsam .	110	50	Thomas Sandye
139	Gift of Apsam .	25	20	—
140	Jacob of Lyme .	90	50	—
141	Revenge of Lyme .	60	30	Richard Bedford
142	Bark of Bridgwater .	70	30	John Smyth
143	Crescent of Dart- mouth	140	75	—
144	Galleon of Weymouth	100	50	Richard Miller
145	John of Chichester .	70	50	John Young
146	Katharine of Wey- mouth	66	30	—
147	Hearty Anne . .	60	30	John Wynnall
148	Minion of Bristol .	230	110	John Sachfield
149	Unicorn of Bristol .	130	66	James Langton
150	Handmaid of Bristol	80	56	Christ. Pitt
151	Aid of Bristol . .	60	26	William Megar

20 ships and barks ; 993 men.

Coasters appointed under the Lord Henry Seymour, whereof some were paid by her Majesty, but the greatest part by the port towns, according as order was taken :—

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
152	Daniel . . .	160	70	Robert Johnson
153	Galleon Hutchins .	150	60	Thomas Tucker
154	Bark Lamb . . .	150	60	Leonard Harbell
155	Fancy . . .	60	30	Richard Fearn
156	Griffin . . .	70	35	John Dobson
157	Little Hare . . .	50	25	Matthew Railstone
158	Handmaid . . .	75	35	John Gattenbury
159	Marigold . . .	150	70	Francis Johnson
160	Matthew . . .	35	16	Richard Mitchell
161	Susan . . .	40	20	John Musgrave
162	William of Ipswich .	140	50	Barnaby Lowe
163	Katharine of Ipswich	125	50	Thomas Grymble
164	Primrose of Harwich	120	40	John Cardinal
165	Anne Bonaventure .	60	50	John Conny
166	William of Rye . .	80	60	William Coxon
167	Grace of God . . .	50	30	William Fordred
168	Elizabeth of Dover .	120	70	John Lidgen
169	Robin of Sandwich .	110	65	William Cripps
170	Hazard of Feversham	38	34	Nicholas Turner
171	Grace of Yarmouth .	150	70	William Musgrave
172	Mayflower . . .	150	70	Alexander Musgrave
173	William of Colchester	100	50	Thomas Lambert
174	John Young . . .	60	30	Reynold Veysey

23 ships and barks ; 1,090 men.

Voluntary ships that came into the fleet after the coming of the Spanish forces upon our coast, and were paid by her Majesty for the time they served :—

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
175	Sampson . . .	300	108	John Wingfield
176	Frances of Fowey .	140	60	John Rashley
177	Heathen of Weymouth	60	[30]	—
178	Golden Ryall of Weymouth	120	[50]	—
179	Bark Sutton of Weymouth	70	40	Hugh Pearson
180	Carouse . . .	50	25	—

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Men	Captains and Officers
181	Samaritan of Dartmouth	250	100	—
182	William of Plymouth	120	60	—
183	Gallego of Plymouth	30	20	—
184	Bark Halse . . .	60	40	Grinfield Halse
185	Unicorn of Dartmouth	76	30	Ralph Hawes
186	Grace of Apsham .	100	50	Walter Edney
187	Thomas Bonaventure	60	30	John Pentire
188	Rat of Wight . .	80	60	Gilbert Lee
189	Margaret. . . .	60	46	William Hubbard
190	Elizabeth . . . .	40	30	—
191	Raphael . . . .	40	40	—
192	Flyboat . . . .	60	40	—
193	John of Barnstable .	—	65	—
194	Greyhound of Aldborough	—	40	—
195	Elizabeth of Lowestoft	90	30	—
196	Jonas of Aldborough	—	25	—
197	Fortune of Aldborough	—	25	—

23 ships and barks ; 1,044 men.

### An Abstract :

	Men
34 of her Majesty's ships, great and small .	6,705
34 merchants' ships with Sir Francis Drake, westward . . . . .	2,294
30 ships and barks paid by the city of London . . . . .	2,130
33 ships and barks with 15 victuallers, under the Lord Admiral . . . . .	1,651
20 coasters, great and small, under the Lord Admiral, paid by the Queen . . . .	993
23 coasters under the Lord Henry Seymour, paid by the Queen . . . . .	1,093
23 voluntary ships, great and small . . .	1,059
	<hr/> 15,925

Totalis : 197 ships, 15,925 men.

ROG. LANGFORD.

## NOTES ON THE LIST OF THE FLEET.

## Ships.

The following details have been gathered from many different documents in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. But the mass of these is so great that, notwithstanding the assistance which the Editor has received from Mr. Oppenheim, the examination of them has been far from exhaustive, and further research may very possibly modify some of the statements. It may be well to explain at the outset that the term rebuilding, which continued in use till the middle of the eighteenth century, had a very wide and varied signification, and meant almost any thing the authorities chose, from a slight repair to absolute breaking up and working such of the timber as was found serviceable into a new ship, of totally different lines and tonnage.

1. Built by Richard Chapman for Sir Walter Raleigh. Launched June 12, 1587 (*ante*, p. 319). Before she was launched, she was sold to the Queen for 5,000*l.*, which amount was, in 1592, struck off Raleigh's debt to the crown (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxlii. 21). It will be noticed that in the letters here printed Howard always calls her simply the Ark. Hawkyens frequently calls her the Ark Raleigh, i.e. Raleigh's Ark, in the same way that the Thomas (No. 43) is, in the list, called the Thomas Drake, or the Hope (No. 48) is called the Hope Hawkyens. She was sometimes, but as yet very rarely, spoken of as the Ark Royal; later on, this name became more common. In 1596 she again carried the flag of the Lord Admiral in the expedition to Cadiz. In 1608 she was rebuilt, and renamed the Anne Royal. She carried the flag of Lord Wimbledon in the expedition to Cadiz in 1625, and got home with great difficulty, leaking like a sieve. It does not appear that she was ever at sea afterwards, and in April 1636, while lying in the Thames, she bilged on her own anchor and sank. She was raised, but on examination was found so much damaged and so decayed that she was judged not worth repairing, and was broken up.



2. Built in 1561 and named the Elizabeth Bonaventure, expressing a confidence in the future, as the Elizabeth Jonas (see *post*, No. 8) had been named in prayerful gratitude for the past. She was more commonly called simply the Bonaventure. Rebuilt in 1581. No ship of the time had such continuous and distinguished service. She was Drake's flagship in the West Indies in 1585-6, and at Cadiz in 1587. In 1590 she was commanded by Thomas Fenner in the expedition to the coast of Portugal under Hawkyns, and by Crosse in 1591 in the voyage to the Azores under Lord Thomas Howard. In 1595-6 she was with Drake and Hawkyns in the West Indies. In 1597 she was with Essex in the Islands voyage, her captain being Sir William Harvey. Broken up about 1610.

3. Built by Peter Pett, at Deptford, in 1586 (cf. vol. i. p. xlvi). She, as well as the Vanguard (No. 6), is described by Monson (p. 321) as 'low and snug in the water,' 'like a galleass,' though the San Lorenzo is spoken of (vol. i. p. 348) as high out of the water. Henry Bellingham was her captain in Drake's expedition to Cadiz in 1587; Sir George Beeston commanded her in 1590, in the expedition to the coast of Portugal. In 1594 she was at Brest, with Frobiser, under the command of Thomas Fenner; in 1596 was at Cadiz, commanded by Sir Francis Vere; and in 1597 was in the Islands voyage, commanded by Sir William Monson. Was partly rebuilt in 1602; and rebuilt as a larger ship in 1618.

4. More commonly called the Lion. Built in 1557; rebuilt in 1582. Portugal, 1590; Azores, 1591; with the Earl of Cumberland, 1593; Cadiz, 1596; Islands voyage, 1597. Broken up in 1609.

5. More commonly called the Bear. Built in 1563. Like the others of the four great ships, she was thought too big for foreign service, and was not again employed during the war. She was rebuilt in 1600.

6. Built by Matthew Baker, at Woolwich, in 1586 (cf. vol. i. p. xlvi). Was commanded by Frobiser in 1594 in the attack on Crozon, when he received his mortal wound. Cadiz, 1596. Rebuilt in 1615. Was vice-admiral, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkyns, in Mansell's expedition to Algiers in 1620. Rebuilt as a larger ship in 1630.

7. Launched at Deptford in 1577. Carried Drake's

flag in 1589, and Frobiser's in 1590. Was captured at the Azores by the Spaniards on September 1, 1591, after a stubborn fight, which has been celebrated in immortal prose and glowing verse; and sank five days afterwards. According to Monson (Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 194), judging by 'the Revenge's precedent misfortunes, she was designed, from the hour she was built, to receive some fatal blow; for to her, above all other her Majesty's ships, there happened these unfortunate accidents: In 1582, in her return out of Ireland, where she was admiral, she struck upon a sand, and escaped by miracle. Anno 1586, at Portsmouth, being bound upon a southern expedition, coming out of the harbour she ran aground, and against the expectation of all men was saved, but was not able to proceed upon her voyage. The third disaster was in 1589, as she was safely moored in Chatham, where all the Queen's ship's lay, and as safe, one would think, as the Queen's chamber; and yet by the extremity of a storm, she was unluckily put ashore and there over-set, a danger never thought on before, or much less happened.'

8. 'The 3 day of July, 1559, the Queen's Grace took her barge at Greenwich unto Woolwich to her new ship, and there it was named Elizabeth Jonas, and after her Grace had a goodly banquet, and there was great shooting of guns, and casting of fire about made for pleasure' (*Diary of Henry Machin*, Camden Society, p. 203). The ship 'was so named by her Grace in remembrance of her own deliverance from the fury of her enemies, from which in one respect she was no less miraculously preserved than was the prophet Jonas from the belly of the whale' (*Egerton MS.* 2642, f. 150). This refers, of course, to the Jonas. It had been the custom for nearly two hundred years, and has been so ever since, to name one of the largest ships in the navy after the reigning sovereign; so that this great ship was called the Elizabeth very much as a matter of course. She was rebuilt in 1598, and carried Lord Thomas Howard's flag in the Downs in 1599; but had no other service against the enemy, and was sold in 1618.

9. Launched in 1561. In 1586 she was 'altered into the form of a galleon,' at a cost of 500*l*. Except a voyage under the command of the Earl of Cumberland in 1589 she had no other service during the war. In 1610 she was

rebuilt as a ship of 1,200 tons and renamed the Prince Royal (*P.O.D.A.*, 2248). After the death of Charles I. the ship's name was again changed to Resolution, as which she bore Blake's flag in the battle of the Kentish Knock, and Monck's in the battles of June 2-3 and July 31, 1653. After the Restoration her name was changed back to Royal Prince; she carried Sir George Ayscue's flag in the Four Days' fight, in the course of which, June 3, 1666, she grounded on the Galloper shoal, and was burnt by the Dutch.

10. Built in 1558. Rebuilt in 1581. She does not seem to have served in any of the principal expeditions during the war. Rebuilt as a larger ship in 1618.

11. Built in 1561. Rebuilt in 1595. Sold out of the service in 1618.

12. Built at Deptford in 1573. Constantly employed through the war. Cadiz in 1587, Thomas Fenner; Portugal, 1589, Thomas Fenner; Brest, 1594, and Cadiz, 1596, Alexander Clifford; Islands, 1597, Sir William Brooke; on the coast of Portugal with Leveson and Monson, 1602, Captain Manwayring (Sir Henry Manwayring, author of the *Seaman's Dictionary*). Rebuilt in 1613. Sold about 1644.

13. Built by Edward Bright in 1556 (*Cott. MS., Julius, F. iii., f. 105*). Rebuilt 1589. Portugal, 1590, Sir John Hawkyngs; Cadiz, 1596; Islands, 1597; Portugal, 1602, Captain Slingsby. In 1618 she was made into a wharf at Chatham.

14. Built in 1556 as the Philip and Mary. Rebuilt in 1584, and renamed the Nonpareil. Portugal, 1589, Captain Sackville; Azores, 1591, Sir Edward Denny; Cadiz, 1596, Sir Robert Dudley; Islands, 1597, Sir Thomas Vavasour; in the Downs, 1599, Sir Robert Crosse; Portugal, 1602, Captain Reynolds. She was again rebuilt in 1603, and her name changed to Nonsuch (*P.O.D.A.*, 2220; 2243).

15. Built in 1558. In 1584 she was 'brought into the form of a galleass' (cf. No. 3). Portugal, 1590, Bostocke; West Indies, 1595-6, Gilbert Yorke; Islands, 1597, Sir Richard Leveson. Rebuilt in 1603, and name changed to Assurance.

16. Built about 1585. Proved quite useless as a ship of war.



17. Built at Deptford in 1573. Portugal, 1589 and 1590; Cadiz, 1596, Sir Robert Crosse; Islands, 1597, Sir Gilly Merrick. Rebuilt in 1607, and name changed to Speedwell (*P.O.D.A.*, 2246). Wrecked in 1624.

18. Built in 1558. Rebuilt in 1580. Condemned in 1603.

19. Built in 1570. Portugal, 1587, William Wynter, jun.; Azores, 1591, Captain Thomas Vavasour; at the capture of the great carrack in 1592, Robert Crosse; West Indies, 1595-6, Wynter. Condemned in 1604.

20. Built in 1561. Appears to have been rebuilt about 1580. West Indies, 1585-6, Frobiser; Portugal, 1589, William Fenner, who was mortally wounded in the attempt on Lisbon. Condemned in 1603.

21. Built 1570. Condemned 1593.

22. 'So called of her exceeding nimbleness in sailing and swiftness of course'—that is, in anticipation (*Egerton MS.* 2642, f. 150). Built 1570. Condemned 1605.

23. Built by Chapman, at Deptford, in 1586. Cadiz in 1596. Broken up in 1618.

24. Built 1577. Condemned in 1604.

25. Built at Deptford in 1573. Condemned in 1604.

26. Built by Baker, at Woolwich, in 1586. Sold in 1616.

Of the merchant ships there is but little recorded, and that rather by accident than design. The names, too, of many of them can scarcely be considered distinguishing marks.

35. Was built apparently about 1580 as the Galleon Ughtred, the property of Henry Ughtred. In 1582 the Earl of Leicester, in conjunction with Ughtred, Drake, and others, fitted out an expedition designed for the South Seas, in which this ship was the admiral, commanded by Edward Fenton. Her name was then changed, out of compliment to Leicester, who was by far the largest subscriber and not improbably became her owner. She was afterwards the rear-admiral with Drake in the West Indies in 1585-6, and was the ship in which Cavendish made his last voyage in 1591.

36, 37. Both of these belonged to the Levant Company, represented by Thomas Cordell, merchant. No. 37 was with Fenton in 1582, commanded by Luke Ward. Both of them sailed in 1591 for India round the Cape of Good Hope,



Lancaster being captain of the *Edward Bonaventure*. The Merchant Royal came home from the Cape with invalids; and the *Penelope*, the admiral of the voyage, went down in a storm off Cape Corrientes. The *Edward Bonaventure* pursued the voyage alone, and returned safe in 1593 with a very valuable cargo. This was the first voyage to India made by an English ship, and led directly to the foundation of the East India Company.

38. Belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh.

41. In the West Indies in the expedition of 1585-6. She was then commanded by Thomas Cely, presumably the same who, after being in prison for many years at St. Mary Port, commanded the *Elizabeth Drake* (No. 53) against the Armada.

42. In the West Indies, 1585-6. She was burnt at Calais on the night of July 28-29, 1588.

43. The *Thomas* belonged to Sir Francis Drake, and was with him in the West Indies, 1585-6, commanded by his brother Thomas. She was burnt at Calais.

47. Belonged to Sir Richard Greynville.

48. Belonged to William Hart; was burnt at Calais.

49. In the expedition of 1585-6, commanded by Robert Crosse. Belonged to Sir John Hawkyns. Was burnt at Calais.

50. In the expedition of 1585-6.

59. The pinnacle that brought in the news of the Armada being off the Lizard. She must not be confused with the *Golden Hind* in which Francis Drake went round the world, which was more than twice her size.

63. The *Bear*, belonged to John Yonge; was burnt at Calais.

65. Belonged to Sir William Wynter.

77. Belonged to John Watts (*B.M. Lansd. MS. cxliii.* 39). For her size, she took a prominent part in the fighting of the year (see vol. i. p. 346; *ante*, pp. 104-8). In 1590 she was one of a squadron of merchantmen coming home from the Mediterranean, and fought a severe action with the Spanish galleys off Cadiz, which they succeeded in beating off. With her, in this action, were ships of the same name as Nos. 74, 84, 100, 101, 106, 131; but it cannot be certainly said that all of these were the same ships, though it is probable that they were.

87. 99. 103. Belonged to the Levant Company, represented by Thomas Cordell (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxix. 86 ; *B.M. Lansd. MS.* cxliii. 33).

107. Appears to have been a Queen's ship.

108. Though spoken of as the Lord Admiral's pinnace, she was really a Queen's ship (see *ante*, p. 241), built by Chapman in 1585. She was the ship that opened the engagement on July 21.

110. Belonged to Edward Pycke—probably Peek.

114. Appears to have been a Queen's ship.

125. The name, sometimes written Bearsabee, has no apparent meaning. Bathsheba is one of many suggestions. Very possibly it was originally a compound, similar to Bear Yonge (No. 63), the last half of which is hopelessly corrupt.

131. Mr. Duffield's ship Richard, one of those with No. 77 in 1590.

137. Apsam, now Topsham.

148-151. Belonged to John Sachfield.

168. In many lists is called Elinathan ; probably a clerical blunder, which has been repeated.

175. Belonged to the Earl of Cumberland.

178. Belonged to Thomas Middleton (see *ante*, p. 118).

193. Belonged to Sir Richard Greynville.

195. Belonged to Thomas Meldrum. Was burnt at Calais (see *ante*, p. 288).

#### Men.

Most of the men named in the list, of whom anything is known, have been already noticed and can be referred to in the index. A few notes are here added. The names in brackets are supplied from other sources : they are probably correct, but are not absolutely certain.

2. The Earl of Cumberland held an anomalous position. He is returned in the official list as captain of the *E. Bonaventure*, but appears to have been, in reality, only a volunteer. There is no mention of his having any pay ; and on the other hand, in the accounts of the ship (*Pipe Office Declared Accounts*, 2225), Raymond is recognised as sole captain and receives the captain's diet. James Sewell (*S.P. Dom. Eliz. Addenda*, xxx. 12) may perhaps be the same as the Captain Sewell spoken of by Monson (p. 175)

as having escaped from the Spanish galleys, in which he had been prisoner for four years, and swum off to the English prior to the attack at Cezimbra on June 3, 1602. The identification is, however, quite uncertain.

5. Richard Poulter was one of the Principal Masters. He is named (*P.O.D.A.* 2226) as master of the White Bear in 1589. That he was so in 1588, with Howard's nephew, is very probable, but doubtful.

7. Martin Jeffrey, purser of the *Revenge* in 1589 (*P.O.D.A.* 2226); most probably also in 1588.

8. John Austyne, one of the Principal Masters of the Navy (see *ante*, p. 249). It seems natural that Howard, who had one of the Principal Masters in his own ship, should have another with his son-in-law.

9. Captain Barker is said by Hakluyt to have been in command of the *Victory*. This he certainly was not, but may have been her master.

11. Eliot (see *ante*, p. 249). He may have been the master, or only a volunteer. A Lawrence Eliot was with Drake in the *Golden Hind*, not improbably the master (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* cliii. 49). Simon Fernandez was with Amadas in the Virginian voyage of 1584, and in 1585 was master of the *Tiger*, with Sir Richard Greynvile, the admiral of the expedition. Hakluyt (iii. 253) says that, going into the harbour of Wocokon, 'through the unskillfulness of the master the admiral struck on ground and sunk.' That was on June 29; but as the *Tiger* sailed for England on August 25 and arrived at Falmouth on October 6, her sinking did not do her much harm.

15. John Sampson (see *ante*, p. 182).

18. Richard Hawkyns, son of Sir John, was captain of the *Duck*, with Drake in the West Indies, in 1585-6; and in 1590, of the *Crane*, with his father on the coast of Portugal. In 1593 he sailed in command of the *Dainty* on a voyage to the South Seas; and in June 1594 was captured in the bay of San Mateo. He was sent a prisoner to Spain, and did not return to England till 1602. In 1620 he was vice-admiral of the expedition against Algiers, under Sir Robert Mansell; and died suddenly in 1622. He was the author of 'Observations in his Voiage into the South Sea,' first published in 1622, and twice reprinted by the Hakluyt Society.



20. Richard Blucke was purser of the *Aid* in 1589.

26. William Monson, knighted at Cadiz in 1596; afterwards admiral of the Narrow Seas and vice-admiral of England. Author of the *Naval Tracts*. He himself says he was the lieutenant of the *Charles*; but the *Charles* was not allowed a lieutenant.

27. Alexander Clifford commanded the *Dreadnought* at Brest in 1594, and again in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596, when he was knighted.

40. William Hawkyns was probably the son of the Mayor of Plymouth; but the name was not uncommon, and the identification is doubtful.

45. Marchant is spoken of as 'brother,' that is, brother-in-law, of Robert Crosse (Wright's *Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 421).

46. James Erisey, captain of the *White Lion* in the West Indies in 1585-6. His grandfather, James Erisey, married Christiana, youngest daughter of Roger Greynvile of Stow. This would seem to be an older Roger than Sir Richard Greynvile's father; but the name was common in the family. Erisey himself married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Carew of Anthony (*Visitation of Cornwall*, 1620, Harl. Soc. pp. 160-4).

51, 82, 93. Prideaux, Furthow, Acton, may probably be identified with the men of these names who were with Lane in Virginia in 1585-6 (Hakluyt, iii. 254).

77. John Watts (see vol. i. p. 350), a wealthy merchant and ship-owner; knighted in 1603, Lord Mayor in 1606. He married a daughter of Sir James Hawes, Lord Mayor in 1574; and, dying about 1616, left large estates in Norfolk and Herts to his sons.

107. This may have been the Lord Admiral's son; but probably a more distant relation. His name does not appear elsewhere in these papers.

131. In 1598 William Adams sailed as pilot-major of a fleet of merchant ships fitted out from Rotterdam, and after many adventures and hardships arrived in Japan, where he entered the service of the Shogun and was mainly instrumental in the first opening of the country to European trade. He died in Japan in 1620, and three years later the English factory was broken up.

133. A Thomas Meek was in the *Golden Hind* with Drake in his voyage round the world (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.* cliii. 49).



148. There can be little doubt that this name is a corruption of Sackville. Probably the Captain Sackville who commanded the *Nonpareil* in 1589.

188. The following Report (*B.M. Lansd. MS. lvii. 25*) was not found in time to insert it in its place in the body of the work ; it is of no great importance, and its facts are grossly inaccurate ; but as embodying the current rumours picked up by an intelligent man, is not without interest. The examination was presumably made by the Earl of Sussex, but it is not so stated.

The Report of Mr. Gilbert Lee, lately come from the coast of Spain and arrived here at Portsmouth the 5th of July, 1588.

He saith that upon the 25th of May after their computation, there departed out of Lisbon for England one hundred and threescore sail of small and great ships, viz. four galleys, four galleasses, thirty hulks, thirty small ships, the rest armados and galleons. In the same fleet there is 30,000 footmen beside mariners, which fleet arrived in the Groyne, all saving the thirty hulks, which hulks are yet missing. The vice-admiral of the whole fleet is dead, and the sickness increaseth in the fleet. The general, being the Duke of Medina, hath written to the King to know his pleasure for the proceeding in his voyage. The fleet lieth within the Groyne, in three several roads, three leagues one from another ; and he saith that if there had come but 50 sail of ships, by reason of the sickness and being so dispersed, they might have burned them all. There is a preparation for a second fleet in Lisbon, which shall likewise come for England. The King of Spain and the Turk hath concluded league for a certain time. This news he learned by three several ships, which he stayed and took upon the coast of Biscay ; in one of them this news was confirmed by several Spanish letters directed for Antwerp.

One that is part merchant and a passenger, being in a ship that is here now, saith that he will affirm upon the loss of his life that all this is true. This ship came from Bayona about 20 days past, and saith he left all this whole fleet in the Groyne, saving the 30 hulks that be missing, wherein all the horses be ; since which time he saith they have had no southerly wind whereby the fleet could well

come out of the Groyne, until this three or four days ; and upon receipt of the King's answer, they were presently determined to come for England. He saith also that the soldiers and gentlemen that come on this voyage are very richly appointed, assuring themselves of good success ; in so much as they might take up any wares there to repay it upon the booty they should take in England. The Duke of Parma did send a ship from Dunkirk to Lisbon, wherein there was an ambassador and four score pilots, upon whose arrival the fleet departed presently. There was a report there that the Duke of Parma had come with his force out of Flanders and entered the Thames and taken London without resistance, whereupon they were about to make bonfires.

The Englishmen that be in Spain do report very foul speeches of the Queen's Majesty ; and they and the Spaniards desire but to set foot on land and all shall be theirs. He saith they made a just account to be received in Scotland. He saith also that he met with 25 sail of Frenchmen upon the coast of Biscay, which came from Lisbon, and after some conflict between them and hurt done on both parts, they departed, and whither they went he knoweth not.

I asked Captain Lee whether he saw my Lord Admiral at sea or not, and he saith he saw none of the fleet.

It is not impossible that, whilst staying these merchant vessels and gathering these rumours, Lee did not neglect his own interests. A series of depositions from Rouen and Dieppe dated in June (*B.M. Lansd. MS.* cxlviii. 148-153) accuse him of plundering a harmless French trader of Rouen ; and a letter from Prince Maurice to the Council (*S.P. Holland*, lvi. August 20) charges him with having seized certain Dutch ships trading to Bayona, brought them to the Isle of Wight, and there sold their goods without any legal process. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the ships and goods were, under the circumstances, lawful prize. The evidence in support of Lee's claim, or the decision of the Admiralty Court, has not been found ; but the French depositions distinctly name the *Rat*, and there is no doubt that the *Rat* was, at the time, in the Queen's service,

## APPENDIX A.

CAPTAIN CELY'S LETTERS FROM PRISON  
IN ST. MARY PORT.*December 12, 1579.—TO THE QUEEN.*

[S.P. Spain, xvi.—Holograph.]

In Andalusia, the 12th of December, in Puerto Santa Maria, 1579.

My duty remembered, your poor obedient servant, Thomas Cely of Bristol, wisheth your Majesty health and prosperity to God's good will and pleasure, Amen. For that my bringing up hath not been such to write dutily unto your Majesty, I crave pardon if my pen run astray, for that I am where I cannot attain to counsel, neither will I that any man shall understand that I write, for that I am sworn by the Inquisition of Spain neither to speak, neither yet to write nothing touching the secrets of the Inquisition or their house, where I was three years in close prison, for God's cause and yours, and all my goods taken from me most unjustly ; for God I take to witness, I never did anything contrary to Spain in all the days of my life.

Notwithstanding these great injuries, they have condemned me to the galleys for four years. Three of them within 2 months be past. My friends hath procured your Majesty's favourable letters for me, but they do not avail, but I pray God I may be thankful for your Highness's good will towards me. There is in the galley where I am a woman, which woman is a courtesan, and is daily in the company with the captains where she doth hear much.



She is of Alexandria and is *amiga* to one of the captains of the infantry. This woman doth talk with me very often, and I make fair weather with her, and for such talk as passeth with the captains I am sure to understand. I am in one of the chambers in the galley where I do her pleasure to suffer her friends to talk with her, so she doth what she can for me. I thought it good to move your Majesty, for that their communications hath been such that a-force I must needs venture my life to write, for that they touch your Majesty and your country very much.

I do think it good to trouble my Lord Treasurer with these affairs, for that I will not trouble your head with a long letter. My Lord Treasurer's wise and politic head will, with forty words, put into your head more in a quarter of an hour than I shall with writing of 10 sheets of paper. I have written unto your Majesty 2 letters touching other affairs; but I wrote in the last letter, which I sent by one Pease of Weymouth, that I would be worth a hundred thousand pounds a year to your subjects and forty thousand pounds a year to your coffers. I hear nothing from you. I fear you doubt I work for my liberty. Truly liberty I desire, and one year I have to accomplish and 2 months, and have nothing but ill biscuit and water: but my trust is in God, to attain to my country; and if I may be heard, I trust God will give me the grace to accomplish my word, if not, strike off my head as a traitor.

I am in a galley called the *Estrella*, otherwise called the *Espera*, in misery. I thank God I am whole of my rackings. All my study in close prison hath been for your common wealths. Send me, for God's love, to pass this year to come, and bear with my rude and bold manners. I marvel you have not the fruitfulest <sup>1</sup> island in the world. You may if you will put to your hands.

I would fain copy out this letter for that I doubt your Majesty will be troubled with reading of it. Have patience <sup>2</sup> with you, and take some pains with reading of it, for that I dare not write any longer. This I omit, committing your Majesty to God's good will and pleasure, Amen, and all his elect wheresoever. My prayer daily you have and shall have, as my bounden duty. Peruse my Lord Trea-

<sup>1</sup> MS. frutefools.

<sup>2</sup> MS. pasie.



surer's letter, and keep well the Queen of Scots, and sure. This counsel I need not give, but my pen will not otherwise do. I beseech God give me the grace to see the court of England ere I die.

Your poor obedient servant,  
THOMAS CELY of Bristol,  
Of your guard extraordinary.

*December 12, 1579.—TO LORD BURGHLEY.*

[S.P. Dom. Eliz. Add. xxvi. 35.—Holograph.]

Laus Deo.

In Andalusia in Puerto Santa Maria, the 12th of December, 1579.

Right Honourable my duty remembered.—For that I am where I cannot have time to write dutily,<sup>1</sup> for God's love bear with my hasty inditing if my pen run astray. Read the Queen's letter first, so shall your Honour pick out some matter and the meaning of my good will towards my Sovereign Lady and Mistress, and towards her honourable Council and her whole dominions. First to touch the great preparation for war with us now making ready in Spain, but whither, or for what place, God knows. Some says it is to conquer Portugal<sup>2</sup> by sword; some says it is for Algiers in Barbary; others says it is for El Arish<sup>3</sup> and Tetuan<sup>4</sup> in Barbary, two ports where the galliots do harbour. This woman hath told<sup>5</sup> me that she hath heard the captains say it is only<sup>6</sup> for Ireland<sup>7</sup> or for Flanders; farther they say that they shall have great aid out of Scotland and Ireland, and that there be some more of their friends in the north part of England; and a worse matter than all this she hath heard them say, that there will be means made to set the navy on fire. God forfend!

<sup>1</sup> MS. dewtely.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Portyngegaell. Portugal was actually conquered and annexed in 1580.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Alarache.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Twetwan.

<sup>5</sup> MS. toweld.

<sup>6</sup> MS. wonly.

<sup>7</sup> MS. Erland.

Disperse them, for God's love, in time, some in one place,<sup>1</sup> and some in another. I need not to counsel your Honours.

They be not ashamed to say that there be daily of the Council, waiting upon the Queen, that will be ready to help them. I pray God give them better grace.<sup>2</sup> I trust the Queen will be careful of herself, and her honourable Council will, I doubt not, have great care of these affairs. If the Queen's Majesty will do in England as they do now in Spain, I think she should do very well. All the Moriscoes that they do mistrust in Spain, they do remove them a hundred leagues from their country,<sup>3</sup> some to one place and some to another. So may the Queen enquire of suspected persons, and remove them, and put others<sup>4</sup> in their room; I say in the north part of England and Wales and Ireland and elsewhere. Good my Lord, bear with me. The very zeal I bear unto my mistress and unto my country moveth me to write. I well know there is careful heads of her Council<sup>5</sup>; and I am sure there is a great grudge borne<sup>6</sup> unto England, for Englishmen did the Spaniards great injury in Flanders, as they say.<sup>7</sup>

There is great store of fireworks made, great store of scaling ladders, great provision of yokes to draw ordnance by mules and horses, and terrible<sup>8</sup> cannons and many, with all other provision for wars. One thing there is provided which makes me to muse: four thousand ploughs for tillage, which is made ready in Cartagena: all other provision I have seen; but those I have not seen, but I have heard 20 soldiers talk of them, which be accounted of credit. They embargo in Italy all the great shipping and in Mallorca and in other parts of the Straits<sup>9</sup>; and in Cadiz<sup>10</sup> they have embargoed<sup>11</sup> 16 great ships of Genoa<sup>12</sup> and of other parts. Notwithstanding all this, there is no money for soldiers, and great scarcity of victual. A soldier is allowed 24 ounces of ill biscuit, which is sufficient<sup>13</sup> if it were good; but for meat, they have but 2 ounces of peas and 6 ounces of newland<sup>14</sup> fish, or 6 ounces of salt tunny<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. plaes.<sup>2</sup> MS. graes.<sup>3</sup> MS. contre.<sup>4</sup> MS. pot wothers.<sup>5</sup> MS. Cowencell.<sup>6</sup> MS. ys a gret gruege boren.<sup>7</sup> Rymenam was fought on August 1, 1578.<sup>8</sup> MS. tyreble.<sup>9</sup> The Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup> MS. Caelis.<sup>11</sup> MS. ynbargyd.<sup>12</sup> MS. Jenaweys.<sup>13</sup> MS. sofysien.<sup>14</sup> Newfoundland.<sup>15</sup> MS. sawelte toney.

or 6 ounces of bacon, which comes once in a month; and they should have 10<sup>1</sup> ounces of fresh flesh every Sunday, but it is [seldom]<sup>2</sup> that it comes. Wheat is here worth 23 ry[als] a hanik. There comes hither much English wheat. [I]<sup>2</sup> do believe your Honour do not know of it. It we[re well]<sup>2</sup> done to give order to your officers and let<sup>3</sup> them forci[bly]. If I had liberty I would do you to understand [great]<sup>2</sup> things. I lack some trifle present to give my [guard].<sup>2</sup> If I had it, I should go ashore when I list, as [others]<sup>2</sup> do of my countrymen. Great pity it is that a tr[ue] subject, doing his prince's commandment, should lose all his goods and to be tormented and made a galley slave for 7 years, three in close prison and four in the galleys. I have lost little less than [two]<sup>2</sup> thousand ducats, besides my cruel torments, and [wife]<sup>2</sup> and children undone for ever. God mend it when His [good]<sup>2</sup> will and pleasure is.

My Lord, there is here great talk how that the King of France's brother is a suitor unto the Queen's Majesty. They doubt the making away of the King of France<sup>4</sup> and then, say they, if [France] and England join together it will grow to a foul piece of work. The common people be afcaerd of their own shadow.

I beseech your Honour bear with my rude and bold manners, and desire the Queen's Majesty to be good unto me. My duty and conscience hath moved me to write these few lines, for that I am her servant and beareth good will to my country. This I omit, committing your Honour to God and to His Holy Word. Your Honour may always hear of me in this port, at the house of one Thomas Butlers, an Englishman and here a dweller.

Your poor orator,

THOMAS CELY of Bristol.

Written in haste.

Good my Lord, have patience with you in reading, for that it is ill written. Consider where I am, in a miserable prison.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful. The x is clear, but as the edge of the paper is torn, it is uncertain whether it was not followed by ii.

<sup>2</sup> Conjecture. The edge of the MS. torn away.

<sup>3</sup> Hinder.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Frawens.

## APPENDIX B.

*THE TRADE.*

Down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Trade was the recognised name of the sea immediately outside Brest, the inshore part of the Broad Sound, now known as the Passage de l'Iroise. It is so marked in the Mercator's Atlas of 1616. The earliest mention of it, as yet noted, is in 1338 (Rymer's *Fœdera*, orig. edit., iv. 836), when complaint was made on behalf of the King of Spain, that certain English mariners of the ship Margaret of Southampton meeting a Spaniard named Juan Gomes 'in loco vocato la Trade Sancti Mathæi,' had plundered him of merchandise and goods to the value of 40*l.* sterling. Many instances of the name occur in the State Papers of Henry VIII., showing it in common use in English; but as the previous one, so also the following shows that it was at least accepted by foreigners; though the word *ultra* seems to point out the English origin of these sentences. In the treaty concluded in 1511 between Henry VIII. and Ferdinand of Aragon, it is agreed that, for the guard of the sea, a sufficient number of men and ships of war shall be provided by each of the two kings; viz.:—the King of England shall furnish 3000 men and ships properly equipped, 'qui mare inter le Trade et ostium Thamisiæ ab incursu inimicorum et hostium pro viribus tuebuntur, custodient et defendent'; and similarly the King of Aragon shall furnish 3000 men, 'qui mare ultra le Trade ab incursu inimicorum &c.' (*ib.* xiii. 315).

The history of the name has not been traced with sufficient exactness to render the meaning of it quite certain. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of 'le rade'; but the Trade could never be a roadstead, nor is it easy to



see how 'le rade' could turn into 'le Traad,' so as to be used in formal State Papers. Again 'le raz' is suggested as the origin, with special reference to Saint Mathieu, to which, according to Littré, the name 'raz' distinctively belongs; but to this there is the same difficulty about the change into 'le Traad.' It may, perhaps, seem more probable that the name was English and denoted the route of the trade from England, Flanders and Normandy to Bordeaux and the South of France, which, even before the time of Henry II., was relatively very great, and would certainly keep as close inshore as possible. It will be seen that wherever the trade came from, or wherever it was going to, outward or homeward, it must have passed through the Trade, just as now every ship not bound directly across the Atlantic must pass by Ushant.

By the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the name had dropped out of common use, it seems to have been occasionally extended to the 'fairway' off Ushant. The flyboats that went through the Trade on their way from Rochelle to Holland (vol. i. p. 215) may have been keeping close inshore, but more likely passed outside Ushant; nor does it seem probable that Drake went, with half a score ships, to look for the expected armada (vol. i. p. 246) in the Goulet or the bay of Douarnenez. On the other hand, complaint was made in July 1576 that the admiral of the Queen's ships in the Narrow Seas lay in the Downs, 'and keepeth not the trade where the ships are used to pass to and fro' (*Acts of the Privy Council*, ix. 170), and Sir George Carey clearly applies the name to the fairway of the Channel (vol. i. p. 324), from which it would seem that the use of the word as denoting the trade route was already becoming general. Its application, in the modern sense, to the Trade winds, is comparatively recent; its limitation to them, still more so. Dampier used the word as meaning a persistent wind, whether permanent or not, and applied it to the African or Indian Monsoons, as well as to the Trade Winds proper. Cook used it only with its modern limitations.

## APPENDIX C.

*THE SECRETS OF THE [USE] OF GREAT ORDNANCE.*

[Dom. Eliz. ccxlii. 64.—Signed.]

	Height of the piece	Weight of the piece	Weight of the shot	Weight of the powder	Breadth of the ladle	Length of the ladle	Number of shot in a last of powder	Point blank by the Quadrant	Random
	inch	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	inch	inch		paces score	paces
Cannon Royal . . . .	8½	7,000	66	30	13½	24½	80	—	1,930
Cannon . . . .	8	6,000	60	27	12	24	85	17	2,000
Cannon Serpentine . .	7½	5,500	53½	25	10½	23½	95	20	2,000
Bastard Cannon . . .	7	4,500	41½	20	10	23½	120	18	1,800
Demi-Cannon . . . .	6½	4,000	30½	18	9½	23½	133	17	1,700
Cannon Pedro . . . .	6	3,000	24½	14	9	23	171	16	1,600
Culverin . . . .	5½	4,500	17½	12	8½	22½	200	20	2,500
Basilisco . . . .	5	4,000	15½	10	7½	22	240	—	—
Demi-Culverin . . . .	4½	3,400	9½	8	6½	21	300	20	2,500
Bastard Culverin . . .	4	3,000	7	6½	6	20	388	18	1,800
Saker . . . .	3½	1,400	5½	5½	5½	18	490	17	1,700
Minion . . . .	3¼	1,000	4	4	4½	17	600	16	1,600
Falcon of 2¼" . . . .	2½	800	3	3	4½	15	800	15	1,500
Falconet . . . .	2	500	1½	1½	3½	11½	1,950	14	1,400
Serpentine . . . .	1½	400	¾	¾	2½	10	7,200	13	1,300
Robinet . . . .	1	300	¾	¾	1½	6	4,800	12	1,000
Falcon . . . .	2½	660	2½	2½	4½	15	1,087	15	1,500

The last of powder containeth in weight 2,400 lbs. after five score to the hundred at 16 oz. to the pound.

Forasmuch as there is difference of strength between sundry sorts of powder, that is to say powder usual heretofore for great artillery, and powder in use for small ordnance, as for muskets, calivers, petronels, dags and pistols, the one bearing the name of serpentine powder being in meal only,

and in these days corned with some more strength allowed to the same, and is now called cannon corn powder, and the powder usual for small ordnance aforesaid is commonly called by the usual name of fine corn powder, the which is or ought to be in strength and force a quarter more than the powder for great artillery, and if so it happen that you have no more sorts of powder but one for all as is aforesaid, being fine corn powder, to serve the great ordnance, then abate one-fourth part of the allowance of powder as is set down in the rules above specified ; and in like sort, with your rule, compass-callipers and shears, cut off one-fourth part of the length and breadth of your ladle and so charge your ordnance ; for this was often done and tried by John Sheriffe with cannon and culverin at battery, being in her Majesty's service, and found by him by good experience to be just, good, serviceable and without danger.

Per JO. SHERIFFE.

To this account of sixteenth-century ordnance the following titles of books on the subject may be added. They are all in the British Museum.

'Three Books of Colloquies concerning the Art of shooting in great and small pieces of Artillery ; written in Italian by Nicholas Tartaglia, and now translated into English by Cyprian Lucar. Whereunto is annexed a Treatise named Lucar Appendix.' London, 1588, fol.

'The Gunner, showing the whole Practice of Artillery, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging. By Robert Norton, one of his Majesty's gunners.' London, 1628, fol.

'The Complete Cannonier, or the Gunner's Guide. By John Roberts.' London, 1639, 4°.

## APPENDIX D.

*Dec. 28, 1585.—PROPOSED INCREASE OF  
WAGES.*

[Dom. Eliz. clxxxv. 33 II. Enclosure in a letter from Hawkyns to Lord Burghley.]

The 28th of December 1585.

A note to show the commodity that would grow to her Majesty and country by increasing the wages of the servitors by sea in her Highness' ships.

First. If it might please her Majesty to allow for the medium of all servitors an increase of 4*s.* 8*d.* the man by the month, it would fall out to be to every man, one with the other, 6*d.* by the day, so as the common man, that had but 6*s.* 8*d.* by the month, shall have 10*s.*, and so every officer will be increased after that rate, a third part more in his wages.

By this mean her Majesty's ships will be furnished with able men, such as can make shift for themselves, keep themselves clear without vermin and noisomeness which breedeth sickness and mortality, all which would be avoided.

The ships would be able to continue longer in the service that they should be appointed unto, and would be able to carry victuals for a longer time.

There is no captain or master exercised in service, but would undertake with more courage any enterprise with 250 able men than with 300 of tag and rag, and assure himself of better success.

The wages being so small causeth the best men to run away, to bribe and make mean to be cleared from the service, and insufficient, unable and unskilful persons



supply the place, which discourageth the captains, masters and men, that know what service requireth.

If it shall please her Majesty to yield unto this increase, her Highness' service would be far safer and much bettered, and yet the charge nothing increased. As for example:—

The charge of the *Lion* for one month's wages and victuals of 300 men, after the old rate of 23*s.* 4*d.* per man, doth amount unto 350*l.*

The same ship being now furnished with 250 able men, after the new rate of 28*s.* wages and victuals, for every man per mensem, will amount unto (even as before) monthly, 350*l.*

So as all the commodities are obtained without any increase of charge to her Majesty.

The sailors also (in consideration of her Majesty's gracious liberality) shall be bound for to bring into the said service, every man his sword and dagger.

## APPENDIX E.

## RELATION OF MEDINA-SIDONIA.

[This relation, enclosed in a letter to the king, dated August 11-21, was sent by the hands of Don Baltasar de Zuñiga, who had served on the Duke's personal staff on board the San Martin, and was now described as one who could give full information on all details. Mr. Barrow had access to a copy of the MS., and refers to it as 'Spanish Narrative' (*Life of Drake*, 287), but without knowledge of its author. The original is printed in *La Armada Invencible*, tom. ii. p. 228, from which it is here translated.]

Journal of the armada in the English expedition under the charge of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, from the time of their sailing from the Groyne.

*July*<sup>1</sup> 12.] On the 22nd of July, 1588, the Duke and all the armada departed from the Groyne with a south-west wind, which they held for some days and thereby made good progress.

*July* 15.] On the 25th the Duke sent the captain Don Rodrigo Tello to Dunkirk, to advertise the Duke of Parma of his coming, and to bring back word of what state Parma should be in, and where it seemed to him best for them to join their forces.

*July* 16.] The 26th at dawn, the weather was calm and cloudy, and so continued until noon, when the wind came from the north, and the armada stood eastwards until midnight, when the wind shifted to WNW. with much rain. This day the vice-admiral of the galleys, named the

<sup>1</sup> Old style, according to the English Calendar. The dates in the text of the Relation are New Style, according to the Spanish Calendar.

Diana, making much water, separated from the armada and returned to port.<sup>1</sup>

*July 17.]* The 27th, the same wind but stronger, with a heavy sea, which continued until midnight, whereby many ships were dispersed from the armada, as well as the three other galleys.

*July 18.]* Thursday, the 28th, the day dawned clear and bright, the wind and sea more quiet than the day before. Forty ships were counted to be missing, and the three galleys. The Duke gave order to sound, which was done in 75 fathoms, 75 leagues from the Scilly Islands; after which he sent away three pinnaces, whereof one should go to the Lizard to see if the missing ships were there, with order for them to stay his coming; another should discover land and examine the same; and the third was to turn back and order all the ships to make more sail, and especially the missing ships if they were found lagging behind.

*July 19.]* Friday, the 29th, the wind was West. The pinnacle which had been to the Lizard returned with news that the missing ships were in front, under the charge of Don Pedro de Valdes, who had collected them and was staying for the armada. At evening all the ships of the armada were joined, except the *capitana*<sup>2</sup> of Juan Martinez, in which was the camp-master Nicolas de Isla, and the three galleys, which it was not known what course they had taken. This same day the coast of England was seen, and was said to be the Lizard.

*July 20.]* The 30th at dawn, the armada was near with the land, so as we were seen therefrom, whereupon they made fires and smokes. And in the evening the Duke sent the ensign-bearer Juan Gil, in a boat to gain intelligence. In the evening many ships were seen, but by cause of mist and rain, we were unable to count them. This night the ensign-bearer Juan Gil, returned with four Englishmen in a boat. The same said they were of Fal-mouth, and had that evening seen the English fleet go out of Plymouth under the charge of the Admiral of England and of Drake.

*July 21.]* Sunday, the 31st, at dawn, the wind had

<sup>1</sup> She was wrecked near Bayonne.

<sup>2</sup> The Santa Ana, No. 13 in the list, Appendix G.



shifted to the WNW.; 80 ships were discovered in the weather, and to leeward, near the land, there were 11 others, amongst which were three great galleons, that fought with some of our ships, and continued turning to windward until they joined their fleet. Our armada placed itself in order of battle, and the *capitana* put abroad the royal standard at the foremast. The enemy's fleet passed, firing on our van under the charge of Don Alonso de Leyva, which drove into the rear <sup>1</sup> under the charge of the Admiral Juan Martinez de Recalde, who stood fast and abode the assault of the enemy, although he saw that he was being left unsupported, for that the ships of the rear-guard were shrouding themselves in the main body of the armada. The enemy assailed him with great discharging of ordnance, without closing, whereby his ship suffered much in her rigging, her forestay was cut, and her foremast had two great shot therein. In the rear, supporting Juan Martinez de Recalde, were the Grangil,<sup>2</sup> with D. Diego Pimentel and D. Diego Enriquez, the Peruvian.<sup>3</sup> The *capitana real* struck her fore-topsail and let fly the sheets, and coming to the wind, awaited the rear to gather it into the main body of the fleet. Whereupon the enemy drew off and the Duke collected his fleet, being unable to do anything more, because the enemy having recovered the

<sup>1</sup> According to Adams' charts, reproduced in Pine's Illustrations, the formation of the Spaniards was a deep crescent, with the convexity in front, the concavity towards the English. No vanguard or rear-guard is shown; and it is difficult to understand how a vanguard proper could be driven into the rear-guard, the main body of the fleet being between them. It seems probable that, in connection with this formation, the terms were used as denoting the right and left wings or horns; and so Captain Duro (i. 78-9) has understood them.

<sup>2</sup> There is no ship of this name in the list. No doubt it means the Gran-Grin, the *almiranta* of the Biscay squadron (Appendix G, No. 14).

<sup>3</sup> The Sp. has *el del Peral*, which seems to have no meaning, and is probably a misprint for *del Peru*. He is spoken of afterwards as the 'son of the Viceroy of Peru,' to distinguish him from another Diego Enriquez, son of the late *commendador* of Alcantara, who was at first in the *capitana*, and afterwards in the San Juan de Sicilia. This one, the son of the Viceroy, was in the San Juan de Diego Flores.



wind, and their ships being very nimble and of such good steerage, as they did with them whatsoever they desired.

This day in the evening, Don Pedro de Valdes ran foul of the ship Catalina of his squadron, so that he spent his bowsprit and his foresail, and withdrew into the main body of the armada to repair the damage. Our fleet continued until 4 in the afternoon endeavouring to recover the wind of the enemy. At this hour, on board the vice-admiral of Oquendo, some of the powder barrels caught fire, and her two decks and her poop were blown up; in which was the Paymaster General of this armada with part of the King's treasure; and the Duke seeing this ship remaining behind, turned the *capitana* towards her, and discharged a piece of ordnance, to the end the fleet should do the same, and gave order to send boats to her assistance. The fire was extinguished, and the enemy's fleet, which was standing towards that ship, desisted when they saw our *capitana* bear with her, so as the ship was shrouded and brought into the main body of the armada.

In this casting about, the foremast of Don Pedro's ship was broken off by the hatches, and fell on the main yard. The Duke turned to succour him, by giving him a hawser; but though great diligence was used, neither weather nor sea permitted of it, and so she was left without sails, because it was now night, and Diego Flores told the Duke that if he shortened sail to stay for her it was not possible for our fleet to see him, because they were much in advance; and that without doubt, by the morning more than half the fleet would be missing; and that the enemy's fleet being so near, all the armada should not be imperilled; esteeming it certain that by shortening sail the expedition would be ruined.<sup>1</sup> Upon hearing this opinion, the Duke ordered Captain Ojeda with four pinnaces to remain by the *capitana*,<sup>2</sup> as also the *almiranta*<sup>3</sup> of Don Pedro, the *capitana*<sup>4</sup> of Diego Flores, and a galleass, so as to take her in tow and remove her people; but neither the one nor the other was found possible, owing to the heavy sea, the darkness and the weather; and the Duke proceeded on

<sup>1</sup> For this especially, and his counsel generally Diego Flores, on his return to Spain, was thrown into prison.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. of Don Pedro.

<sup>3</sup> San Francisco.

<sup>4</sup> San Cristóbal.

his course, rejoining the fleet and taking care to keep it united for whatever might happen the following day. This night they removed the wounded and burnt men from the vice-admiral of Oquendo. The sea and wind increased greatly this night.

*July 22.]* Monday, the 1st of August, the Duke ordered Don Alonso de Leyva to pass with the van and join himself to the rear, thereby making one squadron of the van and the rear, with the three galleasses and the galleons San Mateo, San Luis, Florencia, and Santiago, numbering in all 43 of the best ships of the armada, to confront the enemy, so as there should be no hindrance to our joining with the Duke of Parma; and the Duke with the rest of the armada should go in the van, so as the whole fleet was divided but into two squadrons, Don Alonso de Leyva taking the rear under his charge, while Juan Martinez refitted his ship, and the Duke having charge of the van. He called to him all the sergeant majors and commanded them to go in a pinnace, and range the fleet according to the prescribed order, giving it to each of them in writing that they should put every ship in her appointed place, and also that any ship, which did not keep that order, or left her appointed place, that without further stay they should hang the captain of the said ship; and that for this purpose they should take with them the provost-marshals of the *tercios*<sup>1</sup> and their men; and that three sergeant majors were to attend to the rear, and the other three to the van, so as the better to carry out this order.

At eleven this same day the captain of the *almiranta* of Oquendo advertised the Duke that the ship was sinking, whereupon the Duke ordered the King's money and the people to be taken out of her and the ship to be sunk.

<sup>1</sup> Sp. *los capitanes de campaña*. In each *tercio*, consisting nominally of 30 companies of 100 men each, one company was told off for police duty, the captain of which had an office roughly equivalent to that of provost marshal. The order which they were here appointed to carry out marks the extreme subordination of the captains of the ships. It will be noticed in the course of the Relation that the credit of each ship's action is always given to the officer in command of the soldiers, and that the captain of the ship is never named or referred to, in connection with the fighting.

This day in the evening the Duke despatched the ensign-bearer Juan Gil in a pinnace to the Duke of Parma, to give him advertisement as to where the fleet was.

*July 23.]* Tuesday, 2nd of August, the day dawned fine, and the enemy's fleet, being to leeward, was standing towards the land, endeavouring as much as they could to recover the wind. The Duke also made a board towards the land in order to keep the weather. The galleasses went with him in the van, and the rest of the fleet followed. The enemy seeing our admiral standing towards the land, and that they could not in this way recover the wind, cast about to seaward; whereon those of our ships that had the weather of the enemy, bare room with them and assailed them. Captain Bertendona<sup>1</sup> very gallantly assailed their admiral, offering to board her; but as he came near her, she bare room and stood out to sea. In this fight there were also the San Marcos, San Luis, San Mateo, the Rata, Oquendo,<sup>2</sup> San Felipe, San Juan de Sicilia, in which was Don Diego Tellez Enriquez, who had been in fight with the enemy from the morning, the galleons Florencia, Santiago, San Juan of Diego Flores, in which was Don Diego Enriquez, son of the viceroy of Peru, and the Valencera of the Levant squadron, in which was the camp-master Don Alonso de Luzon. The galleasses of the vanguard being carried by the current almost within culverin-shot, the Duke sent them order that by oar and sail they should endeavour to close with the enemy, to which end also he turned the *capitana* towards them. The galleasses bore with the ships of their rear which were in conflict with some of ours that had closed with them and were endeavouring to board them. These were the galleons Florencia, in which was Gaspar de Sosa<sup>3</sup> and the *capitana* of Ojeda,<sup>4</sup> and the Begaña,<sup>5</sup> in which was

<sup>1</sup> In the Regazona, of the Levant squadron.

<sup>2</sup> In the Sp. this is erroneously printed in italics, as a ship's name: presumably the *capitana* of Oquendo is meant.

<sup>3</sup> The commandant of a body of 2,000 Portuguese soldiers, not embodied in a *tercio*, as were the Spaniards (Duro, ii. 81).

<sup>4</sup> Ojeda must be an error of transcription or print for Oquendo. There were two Ojedas in the fleet, but not men of the first importance.

<sup>5</sup> Of Diego Flores: No. 37 in the list. The other vessel of the same name, No. 105, was only a pinnace.



Garibay, and the Valencer, in which was D. Alonso de Luzon, and the galleon Juan Bautista, in which was D. Juan Maldonado and D. Luis de Maeda; but all to little effect, because the enemy, seeing that we endeavoured to come to hand-stroke with them, bare room, avoiding our attack by reason of the lightness of their vessels; and afterwards they returned with tide and wind in their favour, and assailed Juan Martinez de Recalde, who was in the rear. D. Alonso de Leyva went to his assistance, during which time our *capitana* was in the hottest of the fight, supporting those ships which were closely engaged with the enemy's rear at a distance from both fleets; and Captain Marolin<sup>1</sup> was ordered to go in a boat and command those ships which were near at hand to succour Juan Martinez de Recalde; which they did; whereupon the enemies left Juan Martinez, and turned against the *capitana* which was going alone to the assistance of the ships named; and our *capitana* seeing the enemy's admiral in the van, turned towards her, and lowered her topsails; and the enemy's admiral and all the fleet passed her, shot at her, ship by ship, whilst she, on her part, fired her ordnance very well and fast, so as half the enemy's fleet did not approach, but shot at her from afar. When the fury of the assault had spent itself, there arrived to her support Juan Martinez de Recalde, D. Alonso de Leyva, the Marquis of Peñafiel, who was in the San Marcos, and Oquendo; whereupon the enemy bare room and stood out to sea; their admiral shortening sail, having, as it seemed to us, sustained some damage, and collecting those of his ships which had been in fight with our van. In this conflict, which lasted more than 3 hours, the galleon Florencia was one of the foremost ships, and was in close fight with the enemy.

[July 24.] Wednesday the 3rd, Juan Martinez de Recalde again took the rear under his charge,<sup>2</sup> Don Alonso

<sup>1</sup> Marolin de Juan, on the Duke's staff on board the San Martin (Duro, ii. 48).

<sup>2</sup> It would seem probable that at this time he moved from the Santa Ana to the San Juan. If after the 21st he was obliged to give up the charge of the rear on account of the damage his ship had sustained, he could scarcely resume the command in the same ship after the further pounding she got on the 23rd.



de Leyva remaining with him, reparting between them the 40 or more ships that were therein. The enemy bore with our rear, and assaulted the Admiral; the galleasses discharged their stern pieces, as also did Juan Martinez and D. Alonso de Leyva, and the other ships of the squadron, without quitting their station. And so the enemy retired without any other success, the galleasses having spoiled their admiral's rigging and shot away his mainyard.

*July 25.]* Thursday the 4th, Feast of St. Dominic, the Santa Ana and a Portuguese galleon were somewhat astern, which the enemy assaulted with great fury. The galleasses, Don Alonso de Leyva<sup>1</sup> and other ships went to their assistance; and the galleasses did so well, that they rescued them although they were surrounded by many of the enemy. At the same time that this conflict was in the rear, the enemy's admiral and other great ships assailed our *capitana*; they came nearer than the first day, discharging their large pieces from the lower deck, and cut the *capitana's* mainstay, slaying also some soldiers; there came to his succour the San Luis, in which was the maestro de campo Don Augustin, [Mexíá], who confronted the enemy, Juan Martinez de Recalde, and the San Juan of the squadron of Diego Flores, in which was D. Diego Enriquez, and Oquendo, which placed themselves in front of our *capitana*, being by the currents prevented from keeping together, and the other ships did the same. Thereupon the enemies retired, but their admiral being much damaged, rested somewhat to leeward of our fleet. Our *capitana* cast about towards her, and Juan Martinez de Recalde, and the San Juan de Sicilia, and the *capitana* of the galleons of Castile, and the Grangin,<sup>2</sup> and all the other ships of our armada, the enemy's fleet recovering the wind, and guarding their admiral which was so spoiled in the fight, that she struck the standard and discharged pieces to show her need of succour, and was now towed by eleven of the enemy's long boats. Our *capitana*, and the *almiranta*, and the rest of the ships were gaining on her so much, that the enemy stood towards her, to support her, so as it appeared certain that we would that day succeed in boarding them, wherein was the only way to victory. But at this moment

<sup>1</sup> In the Rata.

<sup>2</sup> Another misnomer for the Gran-Grin.

the wind freshened in favour of the enemy's admiral, whereby she began to slip away from us, and to leave the boats which were towing her ; whereupon the enemy's fleet recovered the wind, which meantime had fallen somewhat to leeward. The Duke seeing that in the proposed assault the advantage was no longer with us, and that we were now near the Isle of Wight, discharged a piece and proceeded on his course, the rest of the armada following in very good order, the enemy remaining a long way astern. The same day the Duke despatched Captain Pedro de Leon<sup>1</sup> to Dunkirk, to the Duke of Parma, to advertise him as well of the place wherein he was, and of his success, as also that it was fitting he should come out with as little delay as possible to join with this fleet. He gave the squadron of D. Pedro de Valdes in charge to D. Diego Enriquez, son of the viceroy, having seen him to be careful and able in matters belonging to the sea.

*July 26.]* Friday the 5th dawned calm, the fleets being in sight of each other ; and the Duke despatched a pinnace to the Duke of Parma with the pilot Domingo Ochoa, to obtain from him shot of four, six and ten lbs., because much of his munition had been wasted in the several fights ; praying him also eftsoons to send 40 flyboats to join with this armada, to the end he might be able with them to close with the enemy, because our ships being very heavy in comparison with the lightness of those of the enemy it was impossible to come to hand-stroke with them. He was also to notify the Duke that it should be well that he would be ready to come out and join with this armada the day that we should arrive in sight of Dunkirk, whither the Duke proceeded cautiously, suspecting that Parma was not there, seeing that D. Rodrigo Tello had not returned, nor had any other messenger come from him. At sunset the wind rose, whereupon our armada pursued its course towards Calais.

*July 27.]* Saturday the 6th at daybreak, the two fleets were very near to each other, though without firing ; our armada sailing with a fair wind, and the rear close up and in very good order. At ten a clock, we discovered the

<sup>1</sup> Of the *tercio* de Sicilia, serving on board the N. S. del Rosario (see *ante*, p. 22 ; Duro, ii. 35), but had, apparently, been sent to the San Martin before the Rosario was captured.

coast of France, being that near to Boulogne. We proceeded towards Calais, where we arrived at four in the afternoon. There were divers opinions as to whether we would anchor there or go on further ; but the Duke, understanding from the pilots who were with him that, if he went on further, the currents would carry him out of the English Channel and into the North Sea, he resolved to anchor off of Calais, seven leagues from Dunkirk, from whence the Duke of Parma could join with him ; so as at five a clock in the afternoon, order was given for the whole fleet to anchor ; and the Duke sent Captain Heredia<sup>1</sup> to visit the Governor of Calais, Monsieur de Gourdan, as well to advertise him of the cause of our presence there, as to offer him our friendship and good offices. This evening 36 ships joined the enemy, whereof five were large galleons, which were understood to be the squadron that Juan Acles<sup>2</sup> had under his charge before Dunkirk, and they all anchored about a league from our armada. This night Captain Heredia returned from Calais, and said that the governor made great offers of service on the part of his Majesty, and showed his goodwill by offering the same on his own part. This night also the Duke sent the Secretary Arceo to the Duke of Parma, to advertise him of the place where he now was, and that he could not tarry there without endangering the whole fleet.

*July 28.]* Sunday the 7th, at dawn Captain D. Rodrigo Tello arrived, which came from Dunkirk ; the Duke [of Medina-Sidonia] had sent him away on the 29th of the past month ; who said that the Duke [of Parma] was at Bruges, whither he had repaired to him, and that although he had shown great satisfaction at the news of the armada being arrived, that on the evening of Saturday, the 6th, of this present, when he departed from Dunkirk, the Duke had not yet come thither, and that they were not embarking either the men or the munition. This day in the

<sup>1</sup> Pedro de Heredia, serving in the San Martin. Writing on May 28 at Lisbon, the Duke described him as 'a soldier of great experience' (Duro, ii. 46).

<sup>2</sup> Acles was Hawkyns, who, as we know, had not had charge of the squadron before Dunkirk ; but to Medina-Sidonia Acles was a familiar name, and he had probably never heard of Lord Henry Seymour.



morning, the governor of Calais sent his nephew to visit the Duke and with him a present of refreshments, and to acquaint him that the place wherein he had anchored was very dangerous to remain in, because the currents and counter-currents of that channel were very strong. The Duke seeing the goodwill of the governor of Calais, sent the purveyor general, Bernabé de Pedroso, to buy victuals, and with him went the comptroller. That night likewise the Duke sent D. Jorge Manrique to the Duke of Parma to urge him to come out suddenly. On Sunday night the Secretary Arceo sent one from Dunkirk to advertise the Duke that Parma had not arrived there, and that the munitions were not embarked, and that it seemed to him impossible that all things could be prepared within a fortnight. On Sunday at sunset, nine ships joined the enemy,<sup>1</sup> and with them a squadron of 26 ships moved nearer to the land, which the same made us suspect that they had come with some design of fire; whereupon the Duke ordered Captain Serrano<sup>2</sup> to go in a pinnace, taking with him an anchor and cable, so as if any fire-ship should be set forth he might tow it to land. Also he sent to warn all the ships to be on their guard, and to that end to have ready as well boats as soldiers. At midnight two fires were seen kindled<sup>3</sup> in the English fleet, which increased to eight; and suddenly eight ships with sail set, and fair wind and tide, came straight towards our *capitana* and the rest of the fleet, all burning fiercely. The Duke seeing them approach and that our men did not hinder them, fearing

<sup>1</sup> This is not mentioned in any of the English papers. Most probably it was some ships shifting berth; but neither have we any mention of the movement of the 26 ships. Certainly Howard and all the English believed that the fire-ships took the Spaniards altogether by surprise; and it is possible that Medina-Sidonia, wishing to put his conduct in the best light, confused the time at which he first suspected the designs of the enemy.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio Serrano, in command of the fore-castle of the *San Martin*; a man of distinguished valour, in whom the Duke placed great confidence.

<sup>3</sup> This does not seem to be quite accurate. The English accounts, which agree with common sense, are that the fires were first lighted when the barks were approaching the Spanish fleet.



that they should be explosion-machines,<sup>1</sup> gave order to weigh, and also for the rest of the armada to do the same, intending when the fires had passed to return and recover the same position. The admiral galleass, in keeping clear of one ship, came entangled with the San Juan de Sicilia, and so damaged herself that she had to remain near the shore. The current was so strong that it drove our armada in such manner as, although our *capitana* and divers of the ships that were near her anchored again, firing a piece of ordnance, the rest did not see her, and were so driven as far as off of Dunkirk.

*July 29.] Monday the 8th, at daybreak, the Duke seeing that his armada was very far off and that the enemy was coming under a press of sail, weighed anchor to collect his fleet and therewith endeavour to recover the place they had been in. The wind was blowing strong from the NW.,<sup>2</sup> nearly straight on to the coast, and the enemy's fleet, wherein were 136 ships, came on suddenly with wind and tide in their favour, so as the Duke, who was in the rear, seeing that if he bare room with his fleet, it would be to their destruction, for that it was already very near the banks of Dunkirk, as he was assured by his Flemish pilots, chose rather to save it by abiding the enemy's fleet; and so cast about to meet them, discharging his ordnance, and sending off pinnaces to order all the ships to keep a close luff, as otherwise they should drive on to the banks of Dunkirk. The enemy's admiral, with the greater part of their fleet, assaulted our *capitana*, with great shooting of ordnance, approaching within musket-shot, or even harquebus-shot. This continued without ceasing from daybreak; nor did the *capitana* bear room until the fleet was clear of the shoals. And during all this time, the galleon San Marcos, in which was the Marquis of Peñafiel, continued hard by the *capitana*.*

The admiral galleass, not being able to follow our armada, turned towards Calais, and ran on ground at the entrance of the haven, whither divers of the enemy followed her. It is reported that the French in the castle of Calais

<sup>1</sup> *Sp. maquinas de minas.* In Benbow's time such ships were called 'machines' or 'machine-ships'; in Lord Cochrane's, they were distinguished as 'explosion-vessels.' These, of course, were simple fire-ships.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 10.

supported her with their ordnance, and that her people reached the land.

Don Alonso de Leyva and Juan Martinez de Recalde, and the *capitana* of Oquendo, and all the ships of the commanders, as well Castellians as Portuguese, and the *capitana* of Diego Flores, and that of Bertendona, and the galleon San Juan of Diego Flores, in which was D. Diego Enriquez,<sup>1</sup> and the San Juan de Sicilia, in which was D. Diego Tellez Enriquez,<sup>2</sup> sustained the assault of the enemy as stoutly as was possible, so as all these ships were very much spoiled, and almost unable to make further resistance, and the greater part of them without shot for their ordnance. In the rear D. Francisco de Toledo abode the coming of the enemy, and endeavoured to grapple with them ; whereupon they assailed him, and by shooting of ordnance brought him to great extremity. D. Diego Pimentel came to relieve him, and both were hardly pressed ; seeing which, Juan Martinez de Recalde came to their assistance, with D. Agustin Mexía, and rescued them from this strait. Notwithstanding which, these ships returned and again assaulted the enemy ; as likewise did D. Alonso de Luzon, and the Santa Maria de Begoña, in which went Garibay, and the San Juan de Sicilia, in which went D. Diego Tellez Enriquez. These came near to boarding the enemy, yet could they not grapple with them ; they fighting with their great ordnance, and our men defending themselves with harquebus-fire and musketry, the distance being very small.

Whenas the Duke heard the harquebus-fire and the musketry in the rear, but by reason of the smoke was unable to see from the top what it was, except that two of our ships were surrounded by the enemy, and that their whole fleet, having quitted our *capitana*, were assailing them, he gave order to cast about to succour them, although the *capitana* was sorely distressed by great shot between wind and water, so as by no means could the leak be stopped, and her rigging was much spoiled. Nevertheless, when the enemy perceived our *capitana* approach, they left the ships they were assailing, which were the ships of D. Alonso de Luzon<sup>3</sup> and of Garibay, of D. Francisco de

<sup>1</sup> The son of the Viceroy.      <sup>2</sup> The son of the Commendador.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, the Valencera, Begoña, San Felipe, San Mateo, and San Juan de Sicilia.

Toledo, of D. Diego Pimentel, and of D. Diego Tellez Enriquez. These three last had been most closely and hotly engaged with the enemy, and had all suffered much damage and were unable for the service, all their people being slain or wounded, only the ship of D. Diego Tellez Enriquez was able to follow us, though much spoiled. The Duke collected his armada and the enemy did the same.

The Duke ordered boats to go to bring away the people from the San Felipe and San Mateo; whereby all the people were taken out of the San Mateo,<sup>1</sup> but D. Diego Pimentel would not leave the ship, and sent D. Rodrigo de Vivero and D. Luis Vanegas to the Duke, to ask him to send some to see if it were not possible to save her; whereon the Duke sent a pilot and a diver from this galleon, though there was much peril in remaining without him; but because it was now late, and the sea very heavy, they could not reach the San Mateo, beyond seeing her afar off, going towards Zealand. The galleon San Felipe came alongside of the hulk Doncella, which all the people got into her; and D. Francisco being in her, heard a cry that the hulk was sinking; whereupon the captain Juan Poza de Santiso sprang back into the San Felipe, and so also did D. Francisco de Toledo,<sup>2</sup> which was a great misfortune; for it was not true that the hulk was sinking, and D. Francisco was carried in the San Felipe towards Zealand, the Duke having been told that he and all his people were in safety on board the hulk Doncella. The sea was so high that nothing more could be done, nor could the damage be repaired which the *capitana* had suffered from great shot whereby she was in danger of being lost.

This day the Duke wished to turn on the enemy with the whole armada, so as he would not leave the Channel; but the pilots told him that it was impossible, because with the sea and wind from the North-West, setting straight on

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Duke did not know how many were brought away. It can only have been a few (cf. *ante*, pp. 30, 70, 77).

<sup>2</sup> 'Don Francisco said that if he was to be lost, he would be lost in his own ship, and therewith he returned to her and went towards Zealand' (Duro, ii. 263). He, however, made good his escape to Nieuport (*ante*, p. 30, where he is confused by Borlas with Don Francisco de Bobadilla).



to the coast, they must by force go into the North Sea, or else that the whole armada would drive on to the banks. Thus in no way could they avoid leaving the Channel; nearly all the best ships being spoiled and unable to resist longer, as well from the damage they had received as from not having shot for their ordnance.

*July 30.] Tuesday the 9th, eve of San Lorenzo, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the wind increased, so as our capitana, which had stayed in the hope of returning to the Channel, was driven towards the coast of Zealand, although keeping as close a luff as possible. At daybreak the NW. wind was not so strong, and the enemy's fleet with 109 vessels was discovered astern little more than half a league off. Our capitana remained in the rear with Juan Martinez de Recalde and D. Alonso de Leyva, and the galleasses, and the galleons San Marcos and San Juan of Diego Flores, the rest of our fleet being far to leeward. The enemy's ships stood towards our capitana, which lay to; the galleasses also abode their coming, as also did the other ships which were in the rear; whereupon the enemy brought to. The Duke shot off two pieces to collect his armada, and sent a pinnace with a pilot to order them to keep a close luff, because they were very near to the banks of Zealand; for which cause the enemy remained aloof, seeing that our armada must be lost; for the pilots on board the capitana—men of experience of that coast—told the Duke at this time that it was not possible to save a single ship of the armada; for that with the wind as it was, in the NW., they must all needs go on the banks of Zealand; that God alone could prevent it. Being in this peril, without any sort of remedy, and in six and a half fathoms of water, God was pleased to change the wind to WSW., whereby the fleet stood towards the North without hurt to any ship, the Duke sending order to every ship to follow the capitana, for that otherwise they would go on the banks of Zealand.*

This evening the Duke summoned the generals and D. Alonso de Leyva, to consider what was best to be done; and when the Duke had explained the state of the armada and the lack of shot—for that all the greatest ships sent to ask for them—he wished them to say whether it were best to turn back to the English Channel or to return



to Spain by the North Sea; seeing that the Duke of Parma had not sent word that he would be presently able to come out. The Council was wholly of opinion that they should go back to the Channel if the weather would permit it; but if not, that then, constrained by the weather, they should return by the North Sea to Spain, seeing there was such great lack of provisions in the fleet, and that the ships were spoiled and unable, that hitherto had resisted the enemy. The wind continued to increase in the SSW., and the Duke stood to seaward, the enemy's fleet following him.

In regard to the fighting, and the turning to relieve and assist his ships, and the abiding the coming of the enemy, the Duke took counsel with the camp-master D. Francisco de Bobadilla, whom, on account of his many years' experience of war by land and sea, he had ordered at the Groyne to come on board the *capitana*, quitting the S. Marcos, which belonged to the same squadron. The Marquis de Peñafiel who also was in the S. Marcos, remained there, for that he did not wish to remove to the *capitana*, quitting the gentlemen that were with him. But in regard to the conduct of the fleet, and such matters as related to the sea, the Duke had the council of the general Diego Flores, whom he also ordered to move into the *capitana*, because he was one of the oldest and most experienced in sea affairs.

*July 31.*] Wednesday the 10th, our armada pursuing their course with a strong wind from the SW. and a high sea, the enemy's fleet continued to follow us, and in the evening the force of the wind becoming less, they came on under all sail towards our rear; whereupon the Duke, for that in the rear there were but few ships with Juan Martinez de Recalde, struck his topsails and lay to, waiting for the rear, and shot off three pieces so as our fleet should also lie to, and wait for the rearguard and the *capitana*. What our armada did thereupon, D. Baltasar de Zuñiga will say. But when the enemy saw that our *capitana* had brought to, and that the galleasses of the rearguard and as many as 12 of our best ships had done the same, they also brought to and shortened sail, without shooting of ordnance against us. This night Juan Acles<sup>1</sup> turned back with his squadron.

<sup>1</sup> He continues in the same mistake; it was, of course, Seymour who parted company.

*August 1.]* Thursday the 11th, we continued our voyage with the same strong wind, the enemy's fleet keeping a long way off; at evening they came under all sail towards our armada, and we counted the ships of Juan Acles to be missing, and again the galleasses and our *capitana* brought to and abode their coming; whereupon they also brought to, not coming within cannon shot.

*August 2.]* Friday the 12th, at daybreak, the enemy's fleet was close up with ours, and seeing that we were in good order and our rearguard strengthened, they rested and turned back towards England, until we lost sight of them. Sithen that time we had always the same wind, until we went out of the channel of the Sea of Norway without it being possible to return to the English Channel [*August 10*] though we desired it, until to-day, the 20th of August, when having passed the isles at the north of Scotland we are now sailing towards Spain with the wind at North-East.

## APPENDIX F.

RELATION OF GONZALO GONZALEZ, A  
PRISONER IN ENGLAND.

[Paris, Archives Nationales. K. 1592. (Dossier B. 81.)—Spanish.]<sup>1</sup>

Memorial that I, Gonzalo Gonzalez del Castillo, natural of Granada, made for his Majesty, of divers things which I saw and heard in England whilst I was a prisoner there.

The 7th day<sup>2</sup> of the month of November, 1588, the hulk San Pedro el Mayor, of the squadron of Juan Gomes de Medina, was cast ashore in England, on the land of Sir William Courteney, where she was pillaged and her people imprisoned.

The 11th day of the said month, there arrived a commissioner from the Queen, with order to separate twelve from the rest of the prisoners and to put them in prison, apart by themselves,<sup>3</sup> which was done; and to each of these they gave 4*d.* for his daily sustenance, and to each of the rest they gave 1*d.*<sup>4</sup>

The 24th of November of the year 1589, the Spanish prisoners there were released by the Queen's order, excepting twelve which the Queen gave to Sir William Courteney, who eftsoons straitly imprisoned us, requiring from us 5,000 ducats for our ransom; which sum was not paid, for that there were none save only poor men.

<sup>1</sup> For the transcript of this Relation the Editor is indebted to the good offices of M. Alfred Spont.

<sup>2</sup> October 28, Old Style. Cf. *ante*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees with Ashley's report (see *ante*, p. 294), which says they were imprisoned at Kingsbridge.

<sup>4</sup> Cary says he allowed them 1½*d.* (*ante*, p. 291).



The 11th of August, 1590, being told by the said Sir William Courteney that he required of us 12,000 ducats for our liberty, and seeing that we had little remedy, we wrote a letter to the Queen, beseeching her that as she had given liberty to all the Spaniards which had been in her kingdom, she would give us our liberty for the like sum as had been judged sufficient for the others. This letter falling into the hands of the said Courteney, he thrust us into a strong prison, giving us for our diet but bread, broth, and water. We were in such straits that, seeing ourselves dying, we resolved to break out of prison and appeal to the justices for a remedy; but they answered that they were unable to relieve us, because he was a powerful man, with whom they could not meddle. So that we were sent back to our prison and remained therein seven months, suffering great hardship.

The 7th of February, 1591, the said Sir William Courteney sent one William Blake, an Englishman, to this province of Brittany to treat with the Duke of Mercœur for our ransom, as well for our liberty as for our better treatment; who came to no agreement about the same, because they required 25,000 ducats, so that the prisoners remain there to this day.

The 24th of December, 1591, I departed from Exeter for Brittany; but having put out to sea, the wind changed and drove us into the haven of Artamu,<sup>1</sup> where we stayed for a wind seven weeks.

On the 8th of February of this present year,<sup>2</sup> Francis Drake passed through the town by the post, having been summoned by the Queen.

On the 23rd of the said month, order came to this port to prepare the five ships<sup>3</sup> of her Majesty's which were there, and likewise six that were in the port of Plymouth, which was done, for to go to the Seine mouth,<sup>4</sup> to prevent the King our master from relieving Rouen. Whenas the ships were prepared, they desired to embark the infantry, but it was found impossible to do so, for that a great many of those who were on the muster-roll were absent. Whereof

<sup>1</sup> Probably Dartmouth.

<sup>2</sup> 1592.

<sup>3</sup> There were certainly not five of the Queen's ships at Dartmouth.

<sup>4</sup> *Sp. á la costa de rruan.*



word was sent to the Court so as provision should be made ; whereupon there came order to imprest peasants—men whom arms do not arm—and embark the same.<sup>1</sup>

I have oftentimes spoken with divers persons of all conditions, as well men as women, which have told me the good wishes they had for our victory in that land, as also the zeal they had and have for the Catholic religion ; and that if they have not declared themselves, it is that they may not lose house and property. There are others who avow themselves Catholics ; for the which they have suffered divers punishments, and yet openly say that they must needs be Catholics and will die in that religion. Many complaints were made about the number of declared Catholics, and they had prayed the Queen to have them punished ; who had given order that such complaints should not be preferred against the Catholics, and that each one live freely as he wished.<sup>2</sup>

They stand in great fear of the galleys and of the general thereof, which they well know his name, and that he is a good knight and an able mariner. They hold it for certain that the galleys will some day offend them, for they say that as they go on the coast of Brittany, they will likewise come on their coast, because it is much better for them than that of Brittany, the passing over to it being the only difficulty. They say the galleys will be their utter ruin, and therefore there is nothing that they fear so much.<sup>3</sup>

They have great lack of soldiers because of the losses they have had of the same. I am a witness that from the journey of Portugal, of more than 15,000<sup>4</sup> men which embarked, not 4,000 disembarked, because of the pestilence there had been in the ships, and of the mortality and of the Spanish prisons. Likewise of the 4,000 men set forth

<sup>1</sup> There is not a word of all this in the State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> We may suppose that he was told this, but most certainly it was not true.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Fenner's 'Twelve of her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys in the King of Spain's dominions' (vol. i. p. xxxii) ; but Gonzalo was not a seaman.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the expedition of 1589. The loss is scarcely exaggerated ; but as the writer has already said that he was a close prisoner at the time, he cannot have been a witness.

from Plymouth to the support of the prince, there are not 500 remaining ; and of five ships which were sent to the succour of Rouen, all perished in a storm, wherefrom not one man escaped.<sup>1</sup> Thus they are forced to levy men from the isles of Holland and Zealand.

Whilst in this port there arrived a flyboat from the isles with about 80 men therefrom, who, going in company with other 20 towards the Seine mouth, were all lost in a storm, within a week.

They have been much pained by the loss of one of the Queen's galleons at Terceira, called the [Revenge] ; they say that she was the best ship that the Queen had, and which they had the most confidence in for her defence.<sup>2</sup>

They are not such as speak against the King our master ; they say nothing more but that if it were not for the pope he would be the best prince ever born ; and thus in all honesty they pray for peace, for they say that if they have not peace within two years they will be all irremediably ruined.

They are fearful that his Majesty may take a port in Brittany, for they say that when he is stablished there his fleet shall be in England, and that there are so many of his party in this kingdom that there will be no let to his winning it.

There is no one who is well affected to Francis Drake ; for the people of quality say that he is but of a mean family to have risen so high ; and the rest say that he is the cause of the wars. He is well looked on by the Queen, who sheweth him much favour.

They cannot away with the name of Dom Antonio whom they call King of Portugal, for they say that he was the cause of the loss of the people which died in Portugal. They seek to stone him, and they say that the Queen keepeth him in a stronghold from whence he never goeth out. He is so poor, lacking money and servants, as it is not to be believed.

Don Pedro de Valdes abideth five miles from London as hitherto ; for although they imputed to him a desire to escape and imprisoned him for the same, Francis Drake, to whom always he hath recourse, hath arranged every-

<sup>1</sup> The State Papers know nothing of this.

<sup>2</sup> Compare note No. 7, *ante*, p. 334.

thing, so as he goeth a-hunting and to other pleasure parties as in the time when he was not in prison. The chief persons of the island do not regard him with favour, for they say that he was the cause that certain gentlemen (a general of the Queen's and others of her council) were executed, which they were all of the party of the king ; but this is not credible, for Don Pedro would have lost his life ere he would have spoken of it.

They hourly attend the armada of the king our master, and they plainly say that they know that England must be his Majesty's, and that the cause of her ruin will be the galleys.

I left Artamu, a port of England, and was at Plymouth on the 5th of February of this year, 1592. These are the best havens which the Queen hath, wherein her armadas are gathered ; and in none of them is any other sort of armada to be seen, neither machine of war, than what I have said.

That I have here written is the truth of such things as I saw and heard whilst I have been in that kingdom ; and I sign it with my name in the town of Blavet, on the 9th day of March 1592.

GONZALEZ DEL CASTILLO



## APPENDIX G.

## LIST OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

[From *La Armada Invencible* of Captain C. Fernandez Duro, tom. ii. p. 60 ; copied from the original sent to the king by the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. Compared with *La Felicissima Armada*, printed at Lisbon in 1588 : a copy of which, with autograph notes by Burghley, is in the British Museum. No attempt has been made to rectify the arithmetic, which is in a hopeless muddle.

Relation of the galleons, ships, patasses and zabras, galleasses, galleys, and other ships that go in the most Happy Armada which his Majesty has ordered to assemble in the river of this city of Lisbon, whereof the Duke of Medina-Sidonia is Captain-general ; with the tonnage of the ships and the number of soldiers, mariners, etc.

[Armada of Portugal, under the charge of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia.]

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
1	San Martin, capitana general .	1,000	48	300	177	477
2	San Juan, almiranta general .	1,050	50	321	179	500
3	San Marcos . . . .	790	33	292	117	409
4	San Felipe . . . .	800	40	415	117	532
5	San Luis . . . .	830	38	376	116	492
6	San Mateo . . . .	750	34	277	120	397
7	Santiago . . . .	520	24	300	93	393
8	Florencia . . . .	961	52	400	86	486
9	San Cristobal . . . .	352	20	300	78	378
10	San Bernardo . . . .	352	21	250	81	331
11	Zabra Augusta . . . .	166	13	55	57	112
12	Zabra Julia . . . .	166	14	44	72	116
	12	7,737	347	3,330	1,290	4,623



Armada of Biscay, whereof Juan Martinez de Recalde is Captain-general.

No.	Ships Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
13	Santa Ana, capitana . .	768	30	256	73	329
14	El Gran Grin, almiranta . .	1,160	28	256	73	329
15	Santiago . . . . .	666	25	214	102	316
16	La Concepcion de Zubelzu . .	486	16	90	70	160
17	La Concepcion de Juanes del Cano	418	18	164	61	225
18	La Magdalena . . . . .	530	18	193	67	260
19	San Juan . . . . .	350	21	114	80	194
20	La Maria Juan . . . . .	665	24	172	100	272
21	La Manuela . . . . .	520	12	125	54	179
22	Santa Maria de Monte-Mayor . .	707	18	206	45	251
23	Patax la Maria de Aguirre . .	70	6	20	23	43
24	„ la Isabela . . . . .	71	10	20	22	42
25	„ de Miguel Suso . . . . .	36	6	20	26	46
26	„ San Estéban . . . . .	96	6	20	26	46
	14	6,567	238	1,937	863	2,800

Armada of the galleons of Castille, whereof Diego Flores de Valdes is General.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
27	San Cristóbal, capitana . .	700	36	205	120	225
28	San Juan Bautista . . . . .	750	24	207	136	243
29	San Pedro . . . . .	530	24	141	131	272
30	San Juan . . . . .	530	24	163	113	276
31	Santiago el Mayor . . . . .	530	24	210	132	343
32	San Felipe y Santiago . . . . .	530	24	151	116	267
33	La Asuncion . . . . .	530	24	199	114	313
34	Nuestra Señora del Barrio . .	530	24	155	108	263
35	San Medel y Celedon . . . . .	530	24	160	101	261
36	Santa Ana . . . . .	250	24	91	80	171
37	N. S. de Begoña . . . . .	750	24	174	123	297
38	La Trinidad . . . . .	872	24	180	122	302
39	Santa Catalina . . . . .	882	24	190	159	349
40	San Juan Bautista . . . . .	650	24	192	93	285
41	Patax N. S. del Socorro . . . .	75	24	20	25	45
42	Patax San Antonio de Padua . .	75	12	20	46	66
	16	8,714	384	2,458	1,719	4,177

Armada of the ships of Andalusia, whereof D. Pedro de Valdes is Captain-general.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
43	N. S. del Rosario, capitana . .	1,150	46	304	118	422
44	San Francisco, almiranta . .	915	21	222	56	278
45	San Juan . . . .	810	31	245	89	334
46	San Juan de Gargarin . . .	569	16	165	56	221
47	La Concepcion . . . .	862	20	185	71	256
48	Duquesa Santa Ana . . . .	900	23	280	77	357
49	Santa Catalina . . . .	730	23	231	77	308
50	La Trinidad . . . .	650	13	192	74	266
51	Santa Maria del Juncal . . .	730	20	228	80	308
52	San Bartolomé . . . .	976	27	240	72	312
53	Patax el Espiritu Santo . . .		—	33	10	43
	11	8,762	240	2,325	780	3,105

Armada of the Province of Guipúzcoa, whereof Miguel de Oquendo is General.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
54	Santa Ana, capitana . . . .	1,200	47	303	82	385
55	N. S. de la Rosa, almiranta . .	945	26	233	64	297
56	San Salvador . . . .	958	25	321	75	396
57	San Estéban . . . .	736	26	196	68	264
58	Santa Marta . . . .	548	20	173	63	236
59	Santa Bárbara . . . .	525	12	154	45	199
60	San Buenaventura . . . .	379	21	168	53	221
61	La Maria San Juan . . . .	291	12	110	30	140
62	Santa Cruz . . . .	680	16	156	32	188
63	La urca Doncella . . . .	500	16	156	32	188
64	Patax la Asuncion . . . .	60	9	20	23	43
65	„ San Bernabe . . . .	69	9	20	23	43
	12	6,991	247	1,992	616	2,608

Armada of Levant ships, whereof Martin de Bertendona has charge.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
66	La Regazona, capitana . .	1,249	30	344	80	424
67	La Lavia, almiranta . . .	728	25	203	71	274
68	La Rata Coronada . . . .	820	35	335	84	419
69	San Juan de Sicilia . . . .	800	26	279	63	342
70	La Trinidad Valencera . . .	1,100	42	281	79	360
71	La Anunciada . . . . .	703	24	196	79	275
72	San Nicolas Prodaneli . . .	834	26	374	81	355
73	La Juliana . . . . .	860	32	325	70	395
74	Santa Maria de Vison . . .	666	18	236	71	307
75	La Trinidad de Scala . . .	900	22	307	79	386
10		7,705	280	2,780	767	3,527

Armada of hulks, whereof Juan Gomes de Medina hath charge.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
76	El Gran Grifon, capitana . .	650	38	243	43	286
77	San Salvador, almiranta . .	650	24	218	43	261
78	Perro Marina . . . . .	200	7	70	24	94
79	Falcon Blanco Mayor . . . .	500	16	161	36	197
80	Castillo Negro . . . . .	750	27	239	34	273
81	Barca de Amburg . . . . .	600	23	239	25	264
82	Casa de Paz Grande . . . .	650	26	198	27	225
83	San Pedro Mayor . . . . .	581	29	213	28	241
84	El Sanson . . . . .	500	18	200	31	231
85	San Pedro Menor . . . . .	500	18	157	23	180
86	Barca de Anzique . . . . .	450	26	200	25	225
87	Falcon Blanco Mediano . . .	300	16	76	27	103
88	Santo Andres . . . . .	400	14	150	28	178
89	Casa de Paz Chica . . . . .	350	15	162	24	186
90	Ciervo Volante . . . . .	400	18	200	22	222
91	Paloma Blanca . . . . .	250	12	56	20	76
92	La Ventura . . . . .	160	4	58	14	72
93	Santa Bárbara . . . . .	370	10	70	22	92
94	Santiago . . . . .	600	19	56	30	86
95	David . . . . .	450	7	50	24	74
96	El Gato . . . . .	400	9	40	22	62
97	Esayas . . . . .	260	4	30	16	46
98	San Gabriel . . . . .	280	4	35	20	55
23		10,271	384	3,121	608	3,729

Patasses and zabras, whereof Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza hath charge.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
99	N. S. del Pilar de Zaragoza capitana	300	11	109	51	160
100	La Caridad, inglesa . .	180	12	70	36	106
101	San Andres, escoces . .	150	12	40	29	69
102	El Crucifijo . . . .	150	8	40	29	96
103	N. S. del Puerto . . . .	55	8	30	33	63
104	La Concepcion de Carasa .	70	5	30	42	72
105	N. S. de Begoña . . . .	64	—	20	26	46
106	La Concepcion de Capetillo .	60	10	20	26	46
107	San Jeronimo . . . .	50	4	20	37	57
108	N. S. de Gracia . . . .	57	5	20	34	54
109	La Concepcion de Francisco de Latero	75	6	20	29	49
110	N. S. de Guadalupe . . .	70	—	20	42	62
111	San Francisco . . . .	70	—	20	37	57
112	Espiritu Santo . . . .	75	—	20	47	67
113	Trinidad . . . .	—	2	—	23	23
114	N. S. de Castro . . . .	—	2	—	26	26
115	Santo Andres . . . .	—	2	—	15	15
116	La Concepcion de Valmaseda	—	2	—	27	27
117	La Concepcion de Somanila .	—	—	—	31	31
118	Santa Catalina . . . .	—	—	—	23	23
119	San Juan de Carasa . . .	—	—	—	23	23
120	Asuncion . . . .	—	—	—	23	23
	22	1,131	91	479	574	1,093

Galleasses of Naples, under the charge of D. Hugo de Moncada.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
121	Capitana San Lorenzo . .	—	50	262	124	386
122	Patrona Zuñiga . . . .	—	50	178	112	290
123	Girona . . . .	—	50	169	120	289
124	Napolitana . . . .	—	50	264	112	376
	4 with 1,200 rowers . .	—	200	873	468	1,341



Galleys of Portugal, under the charge of D. Diego Medrano.

No.	Ships' Names	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
125	Capitana . . . .	—	5	—	106	106
126	Princesa . . . .	—	5	—	90	90
127	Diana . . . .	—	5	—	94	94
128	Bazana . . . .	—	5	—	72	72
	4 with 888 rowers . .	—	20	—	362	362

### General Summary.

	Ships	Tons	Guns	Soldiers	Mariners	Total
Armada of Portugal . .	12	7,737	347	3,330	1,293	4,623
„ Biscay . . . .	14	6,567	238	1,937	863	2,800
„ Castille . . . .	16	8,714	384	2,458	1,719	4,171
„ Andalusia . . . .	11	8,762	240	2,327	780	3,105
„ Guipuscoa . . . .	14	6,991	247	1,992	616	2,608
„ Levant Ships . . .	10	7,705	280	2,780	767	3,523
„ Hulks . . . .	23	10,271	384	3,121	608	3,729
Patasses and Zabras . .	22	1,121	91	479	574	1,093
Galleasses of Naples . .	4	—	200	773	468	1,341
Galleys . . . .	4	—	20	—	362	362
	130	57,868	2,431	19,295	8,050	27,365
Rowers . . . .						2,088
Summa Totalis . . . .						29,453

### NOTES ON THE LIST OF THE ARMADA.

Of the age or previous history of the Spanish ships, nothing is known in this country. Of the fate of a great many of them even the Spaniards are ignorant. In the majority of cases, so total was the destruction, that all they could say of any particular ship was that she did not come home. Nor were the English always better informed. If a ship went down in the open sea, nothing was heard of her; if she was cast ashore, it often happened that there

were no survivors, and the English officials could only report that a great ship had been split to pieces, and that the shore was strewn with dead bodies, or that the Irish had brained all that came to land, or that a miserable remnant had been despatched by order of their own officers. Captain Duro supposes (i. 201) that English writers have been studiously silent on the subject in order to conceal 'the foul stain on the character of a people who pride themselves on their humanity.' In this he is mistaken. English writers have never concealed the broad facts as far as they were known; but it is only within the last few years that Mr. Froude's History and, more fully, the Calendar of the Irish State Papers have made the details public. This Calendar was not yet issued when *La Armada Invencible* was published; still, with Mr. Froude's last volume before him (i. 204-5), Captain Duro's suggestion is more than a little curious. Nothing, indeed, can be clearer than that the actors in the terrible tragedy felt neither shame nor sentiment in the part they were called on to play; and if they had thought excuses necessary, would doubtless have found them in the conduct of the Spaniards on several occasions, notably in that of Alva in the Low Countries, and of Santa Cruz after his victory at Terceira.

Captain Duro's researches permit him to give the following tabular statement of losses; it is probably as fair an approximation as can be arrived at.

Abandoned to the enemy . . . .	2 <sup>1</sup>
Lost in France (stores saved) . . . .	3 <sup>2</sup>
Lost in Holland . . . . .	2 <sup>3</sup>
Sunk in the battle . . . . .	2 <sup>4</sup>
Wrecked in Scotland and Ireland . . . .	19 <sup>5</sup>
Fate unknown . . . . .	35
	<hr/>
	63

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 43, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 13, 121, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 4, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Not specified; possibly Nos. 14, 69.

<sup>5</sup> He has not given their names; one, No. 83, was lost on the coast of Devonshire. The Irish accounts speak of 17 as known to have been lost in Ireland alone.

which he classes thus :—

Galleons and ships	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
Hulks	.	.	.	.	.	.	13
Patasses	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Galleasses	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Galleys	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
							<hr/> 63

It is of very few that any particulars can be given.

1. Notwithstanding the battering to which she had been subjected, by dint of having a capable pilot, she returned safely to Santander, having lost 180 men dead and almost all the rest sick. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia is described as having lost all heart and making no attempt to keep the fleet together, or to exert himself for the common safety. His one anxiety was to reach Spain; and when, off Santander, the wind came foul, he hurried to shore in the pilot-boat, leaving the ship to the care of Diego Flores de Valdes. His court favour preserved him from punishment or rebuke, and the guilt of having deserted the disabled Rosario was attributed to Diego Flores, who had indeed counselled the measure which Medina-Sidonia adopted. Captain Duro accepts the opinion, current at the time, that Diego Flores was actuated by personal enmity to his cousin, a crime surely deserving a severer punishment than the 15 months' imprisonment which it received.

2. From being designated the *almiranta* before the fleet left Lisbon, it would seem that Juan Martinez de Recalde was then on board her. He probably continued so till the night of July 21, when he took command of the rear in the Santa Ana (No. 13), from which he returned to the San Juan on the 24th. Captain Duro (i. 210) describes him as putting into a strange port in Ireland, landing his men, and by force of arms obtaining the water of which his ships were much in need. The unknown port would seem to have been Dingle; and in this skirmish, the men, whose examinations are given *ante* p. 219, were presumably made prisoners. The S. Juan arrived at Corunna, and there Recalde—worn out with vexation and hardships—died in the middle of October.



He was a man of long experience in maritime affairs, and is spoken of as 'one of the greatest seamen of the age.' The ship was burnt by Drake at Corunna in 1589 (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxxiv. 24).

3. 4. 5. 6. 8. These were all reckoned as amongst the most powerful ships in the armada, and with 1 and 2, bore a great part of the brunt of the fighting. The *S. Felipe* and *S. Mateo*, after being captured by the Zealanders, sank in the mouth of the Scheldt. The *S. Marcos* was lost on the coast of Ireland (*Duro*, i. 125).

13. Is said to have been missing on July 20 (*ante*, p. 355). She must have rejoined the fleet during the night, though Medina-Sidonia has not mentioned it; for there seems no doubt that she was the ship which, with Juan Martinez de Recalde on board, was so sorely beaten on July 21 and again on the 23rd (*ante*, pp. 134, 356, 360). Juan Martinez probably left her on the 24th, when he resumed the command of the rear-guard (p. 360; cf. *Duro*, i. 61); and on the 25th, being 'scattered' from the fleet (vol. i. p. 359; *ante*, p. 361) she was very roughly handled by the *Victory* and others of the ships with Hawkyins; so that, being unable to keep the sea, she parted company during the night, and drifted across into the Bay of La Hogue, whence she went to Havre. There were sundry proposals to attack her there (*ante*, pp. 179, 195-6), but they came to nothing; and the *Santa Ana*, trying to go into the river for her better security, struck on the bar and became a complete wreck (*Duro*, i. 171).

30, *en que iba* Diego Enriquez. Of the ship herself there is no direct account; but the ship in which Diego Enriquez was at the time, was lost on the coast of Ireland. A detailed account of the miserable death of this brave man is given in *La Armada Invencible*, ii. 342.

43. After being pretty well cleared out at Dartmouth, she was patched up and taken round to Chatham (*P. O. D. A.* 2226). She was probably found not worth repairing, and was broken up. D. Pedro de Valdes remained a prisoner more or less at large (*ante*, p. 374) for about 3 years, when he paid a ransom of 3,000*l.* and returned to Spain. In 1602 he was appointed Governor of Cuba. He held the office till 1608, during which time he built the *Castilla del Morro* to defend the Havana. On his return,

he retired to Gijon, his native place, and died there in 1614.

48. With D. Alonso de Leyva and the survivors from the Rata on board, was lost in Glennagiveny Bay, a few miles to the west of Inishowen Head (*S. P. Ireland, Eliz.*, cxxxvi. 36, III.) Many were drowned; some were killed or taken prisoners; D. Alonso and the rest were taken off by the Girona, No. 123.

54. Got back to the Passages, where she accidentally caught fire and blew up. Oquendo, who had been in all the expeditions of his time, a man of fiery courage and vehement temper, did not live to witness this last blow, dying of vexation on the 22nd of September.

55. 56. The Almirante of the Guipuzcoan squadron would seem to have left the Nuestra Señora de la Rosa and gone on board the San Salvador, probably at the Groyne. Both Spanish and English accounts speak of the ship that was partially blown up on the evening of July 21 as the *almiranta* or vice-admiral of Oquendo, and it is perfectly certain that this ship was the San Salvador (*ante*, p. 155). But misled by his list, Captain Duro has insisted (*La Armada Invencible*, i. 197) that 'the burnt ship' was the N. S. de la Rosa, which was actually lost among the Blaskets (*S. P. Ireland, Eliz.*, cxxxvi. 41, V.).

66. According to the list, the largest ship in the armada, though apparently not the most heavily armed. Her commander, Bertendona, having distinguished himself in the fighting (*ante*, pp. 359, 366), more fortunate than many of his companions in arms, succeeded in reaching Spain. In the next year, he took part in the defence of Corunna against Drake, and burnt his ship to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. In 1591 he commanded a ship in the armada at the Azores under D. Alonso de Bazan, and is said by Captain Duro (i. 212) to have been the actual captor of the Revenge.

68. In *La Felicissima Armada* the name is given as La Rata Santa Maria Encoronada. She was cast ashore on the coast of Erris, and split in pieces (*ante*, p. 262), when Alonso de Leyva with most of his men were said to have got on board the San Martin. Afterwards he removed to the Duquesa Santa Ana.

69, *en que iba* Diego Tellez Enriquez. From the

terrible battering which she got on July 29, and from the fate of the San Mateo and San Felipe her companions in the fight, it seems extremely probable that she foundered during the night or was the ship that went down whilst in treaty with Captain Crosse. Her name does not appear afterwards.

70. Lost on the coast of Ireland. The examination of D. Alonso de Luzon is given *ante*, p. 271.

71. 74. Their armament is given vol. i. p. xlv. It does not appear from the list that they ought to be regarded as exceptional.

76. A ship of Rostock ; was lost on Fair Island, where Juan Gomes de Medina and his men remained through the winter. In the following year they crossed to Scotland and reached Edinburgh, whence they obtained a passage to Spain. The coincidence of the name gave rise to a rumour long prevalent that it was the general of the expedition, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who was wrecked on Fair Island.

79. A Hamburg ship. On January 22, 1588-9, as she was returning to Hamburg from Lisbon, she was captured and taken into Plymouth (*B.M. Lansd. MS.* cxliv. 282).

83. Wrecked in Bigbury Bay (*ante*, pp. 289-90), though how she got there is a puzzle, to which Gonzalez' Relation (*ante*, p. 371) does not offer any solution. It would seem that after passing round Ireland she ran into the Channel, under the impression that she was on her way to Spain, till she was rudely brought up by the Devonshire coast. It was on the Bolt Tail, the southern headland of Bigbury Bay, that the 90-gun ship Ramillies was lost in 1760.

87. Lost on the coast of Ireland (*ante*, p. 302 ; Duro, ii. 332).

121. Driven ashore and captured at Calais. She was left aground and became a complete wreck.

122. Is said to have arrived on the coast of Ireland about September 4, with 80 men dead of hunger and thirst and the rest dying. From the Irish they could get no relief, but obtained it from a French ship which they met, and so succeeded in reaching Havre, where they were hospitably received (Forneron, *Hist. de Philippe II.*, iii. 347). The story seems doubtful in its details, for it is difficult to imagine what a French ship could be doing on the west



coast of Ireland at that time, and the Spanish records return her as missing (Duro, ii. 332). Her purser fell into the hands of the English, possibly when he had come on shore in hopes of obtaining victuals and water. From his examination on September 9 it does not appear that the ship had been then lost.

123. After narrowly escaping the fate of the Duquesa Santa Ana (No. 48), she received the survivors on board, including D. Alonso de Leyva, the Count of Paredes, and other men of distinction, and putting to sea, was dashed to pieces near the Giant's Causeway. It was believed that every soul on board perished. The place of the wreck, pointed out by tradition, still bears the name of Spaniard Rock, the western head of Port-na-Spagnagh. Don Alonso, knight of Santiago, Commendador of Alcuesca, having served with honour in the Low Countries and as captain-general of the Sicilian galleys, had been appointed captain-general of the horsemen of Milan, but had resigned the office to take part in the English expedition, with a secret commission as commander-in-chief in case of the death of Medina-Sidonia. It is said that the king felt more grief for his death than for the loss of the fleet.

124. Returned to Spain.

125. 126. 128. Returned to Spain. Burghley noted on his copy of *La Felicissima Armada* that 126 was 'driven into Blavet.'

127. Wrecked at Bayonne.

## APPENDIX H.

*BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.*

When the first volume of this work was issued, the Editor was unable to speak with certainty as to the origin of the Relation of Proceedings printed at pp. 1-18, although he felt little doubt that it was drawn up under Howard's direction. The correspondence between it and the account printed by Ryther in 1590, under the title of *A Discourse concerning the Spanish Fleet*, was at once pointed out, and it was suggested that this Relation, as well as Ryther's Discourse, was a translation from the Italian of Petruccio Ubaldino. The suggestion was probably made without a close comparison of the two, for Ryther's Discourse contains many details which are foreign to the other, and is evidently of a later date. The question, however, is definitely set at rest by the discovery in the British Museum of Ubaldino's MS. (*O.R.*, 14. A. x), with a dedication to Lord Howard of sufficient bibliographical interest to warrant its reproduction here. It is to this effect :—

Most excellent and noble Lord :—

Your Lordship's own relation of what happened against the enemy's fleet in these seas, first written in English, now returneth to you in Italian, to the end that the abundant content won for the English nation by the happy success of those days, may also bear witness to other nations, in a language which they understand, of the valour and conduct of your Lordship, by the favour, wisdom and good fortune of her Majesty the Queen, High Admiral of this kingdom, supreme commander and chief of all that was therein achieved, as also of the honour that was gained, and of the security to the public quiet. And in truth, as appertaining to my office, I have sought to adorn the relation and the

subject thereof, written plainly in your own tongue, with words which seem more suitable in Italian, and are requisite as well for the clear understanding of the matter, as for instruction in every sort of history, but none the less free from all adulation and partiality, so as the simple verity, looked for by those who read, may be found therein, which otherwise I know that your Lordship would not receive it.

It remains now that I should thank your Lordship for your favour in vouchsafing to entrust me with this charge, and for that I being an Italian, your Lordship should have wished the relation of your achievements to be translated into the Italian tongue sooner than into any other, to the end the same should be known by other nations and people. And two things there are which, without doubt, will prosper the same, inasmuch also as the Queen's Majesty's pleasure appears therein. For first, the opinion is confirmed which hath long been held, that her Majesty hath ever been and still is affectionated with royal constancy unto this tongue and this nation; and if I am not deceived, her Majesty doth also desire and procure that the same should appear. And for the other, the achievements of your Lordship shall be openly showed to these distant nations and these noble princes, like as the clear and honoured prowess of many of your name, which are set forth in history to the honour and great glory of the English crown; an aim, in truth, praiseworthy and desirable, the special mark of noble minds.

I have also added to the tenor and course of the story some notes by way of apostilles, which seemed to me the more necessary to the end they that read may not lack the means whereby to attain a better understanding thereof than they would procure by their own travail; knowing that there is nothing which tendeth more surely to the perfect teaching of men to win praise for their own actions, than the imitation of the deeds of others well and clearly set forth in order.

I therefore humbly beseech your Lordship to receive this my travail with that favour which those of your name have ever used towards their humble friends; and that you will vouchsafe to be a mean that the Queen, your sovereign Lady, and mine—foreigner though I be—may believe my zeal and fidelity, for that in long service with the pen, I have never wearied in setting forth the virtues of her



Majesty, and that in this matter, for her particular glory and for that of the crown, I have sought not to fail of my duty in any place.

Meanwhile may the good God grant to your Lordship prosperous success to your honourable thoughts, for the honour of her Majesty and the advantage of this realm. From London, the 15th of April 1589.

Your most illustrious Lordship's  
affectionate and humble servant,  
Petrucchio Ubaldino  
the Florentine.

It follows then that the very interesting document printed in vol. i. pp. 1-18, is the original of which Ubaldino's narrative is an avowedly ornate translation, and that it was drawn up, as already conjectured, under Howard's direction. The identity of the author it is impossible to guess. It is more literary in style than any of the letters written by Howard, or his secretary or his secretary's clerk. But as far as the present work is concerned, it is sufficient to know that it emanated directly and immediately from Howard; and that, after being translated into Italian, and translated back into English, it formed the basis of the accounts given by Camden and Stow, who reared thereon a weighty superstructure of very questionable matter, and was largely reproduced by Entick in his *Naval History*. Lediard and Morant alone have referred to the original MS., but without any knowledge of its absolute value.

The celebrated Tapestry hangings of the old House of Lords, which were burnt with it in 1834, had an historical value which ought not to be overlooked. Within a very few years of the events portrayed they were designed and woven for Howard, and were already decorating the walls of Arundel House in 1602 (Chamberlain's *Letters*, 169). They were afterwards sold to King James and by him presented to the House of Lords. They were thus accepted by Howard and such friends as we may suppose he consulted—Leveson, Hoby, Preston, Seymour, 'old' Gray and others—as fair representations of the battles and the formation of the fleets. It is not of course to be supposed that they were rigidly accurate; we know by our own experience of later pictures—such as Louthembourg's 'First of June'—how im-

possible it is to arrive at accuracy of detail ; but these pictures by Cornelis de Vroom were accepted by competent judges as not outrageously unlike, which is, perhaps, the most that can be said of any battle picture. They were destroyed by the fire sixty years ago ; but fortunately had been engraved, nearly 100 years before, by John Pine (fol. 1739), whose work has thus something of the value of an original record. The engravings are accompanied by a careful narrative drawn up by the Rev. P. Morant, which is sufficient for the purpose intended, but has no original authority. The maps and plans, on the other hand, are taken from the plates drawn by Robert Adams and engraved by Ryther in 1590 as illustrations to the *Discourse* already mentioned. They are thus strictly contemporary and have a real value.

A short narrative, void of all detail, was published in 1588, under the title of *The copie of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassador in France for the King of Spain*. It is little more than a pamphlet, and has no special authority, though its age gives it a kind of respectability. Another pamphlet of the same date (1588), entitled *Certain advertisements out of Ireland concerning the Losses and Distresses happened to the Spanish Navie*, contains some of the depositions of prisoners and a general summary of the losses. All other early accounts are directly or indirectly based on the *Discourse* published by Ryther, with a larger or smaller intermixture of current gossip or Dutch imaginings, and have little or no value.

Towards the end of last century Bruce's *Report* (see vol. i. p. lxxxi) was printed for the Government, but was not then offered for sale and is now rare. Whether in accordance with his instructions or from his own judgment, Bruce dealt most fully with the defensive preparations on shore, and such naval papers as the book contains were printed from very inaccurate transcripts. Barrow, in his *Life of Drake*, has since then printed some few others ; and Mr. Motley and Mr. Froude have embodied in their Histories the substance of many extracts. But extracts, or selections, may and often do leave a very false impression on the mind of the reader ; and the full story of the campaign, from the English point of view, is—to the best of the Editor's knowledge—now printed for the first time.







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